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THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

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Editorial Notes:

After Verwoerd—Führer Vorster

IT HAS BEEN revolting to see how the frightened men of the official opposition in South Africa, including the Progressive Party and many so-called 'liberals', have fallen over themselves to express their regrets and convey their condolences over Verwoerd's death. Even more revolting has it been to read the words of the stooge Non-White leaders who mourned the passing of their 'baas', attended his funeral, greeted the election of his successor Vorster with satisfaction that South Africa would now be in the hands of a 'strong man'.

Had the real South African opposition, which is jailed, banned or in exile, been heard, it would undoubtedly have echoed the words of a columnist in the English magazine *The New Statesman*:

> We should remember that Verwoerd was the chief architect of a fundamentally evil system . . . He must be held responsible for Sharpeville. His regime inflicted unspeakable cruelties on thousands of South Africans, white, black and coloured; it kept them in prison without trial while their families starved; it condoned tortures, beatings and judicial murder; it did its best to wreck South Africa's free press and the rule of law; and covered all these activities with a repulsive veneer of humbug, derived

> from the debased form of Christianity in which Verwoerd believed. That he was knifed to death in the parliament he had debauched seems entirely appropriate . . . Too many tyrants die in their beds; and many of us, if we are honest, will admit some satisfaction that, for once, natural justice has been done.

There have been many who have been quick to see parallels between the murder of Kennedy in the United States and that of Verwoerd in South Africa. Both have officially been alleged to be the acts of isolated madmen, acting on their own. Both have been followed by a pronounced swing to the right in the political leadership of the ruling party. In the case of Kennedy's assassin, Lee Oswald, who was himself immediately murdered so that he could tell no tales, there has been more than a suspicion that he was the agent of a wider and more powerful conspiracy anxious to remove the 'peace and nigger-lover' Kennedy from office because he threatened both their profits and their policies of cold war. Nothing that the Warren Commission has done has removed that suspicion. On the contrary, recent evidence of the way the Warren Commission set about its work has only helped to convert suspicion into near certainty.

Is the situation so very different in South Africa? Who is the alleged assassin, Tsafendas—an alleged Mozambique-born 'play White' who, according to a fellow Parliamentary messenger, 'could not understand why the Government was doing everything for the Coloured people and nothing for the poor Whites?' How was it that a man with his racial and political background, known to the police of several countries, including the United States, Britain and Portugal (the three imperialist powers with the heaviest investment in Southern Africa and the greatest interest in maintaining the stability and profitability of the area)—how is it that such a man slipped through the 'security net' in South Africa and obtained a job as a Parliamentary messenger with access to the top men in the country's government in their most unguarded moments? Is it conceivable that the South African Special Branch, so expert at smelling out and hunting down elements hostile to the state, could have neglected to screen Parliamentary messengers altogether? Is it sheer coincidence that the man who built the Security Police into the terror instrument it is, Balthazar John Vorster, should have succeeded to the dead Verwoerd's political estate and taken over the premiership? What is the significance of Vorster's retention of control of the police force 'until we are in calmer waters'? Vorster's own explanation is that he had decided on this new arrangement, while relinquishing his other portfolios, because it could not be expected of the new Minister of Justice, Mr. P. C. Pelser, to acquaint himself with all the facets of his new portfolios within a short time. Vorster

told Parliament on September 14th, 'for five years I have woken up and gone to bed with all these problems' connected with the safety of the State. Vorster has appointed the judge who is to inquire into all aspects of the murder of Verwoerd, yet he himself remains in charge of the police. Can it be expected that all the facts will be uncovered in such circumstances?

POWER CONFLICT

CERTAINLY THERE IS no close parallel with the Kennedy assassination. Verwoerd was no liberal. But there is ample evidence of a power conflict inside the Nationalist Party. The years of Verwoerd's rule, in which his own leadership appeared on the surface to be unchallenged and unchallengeable, were years of increasing stress and strain in the Nationalist Party. Verwoerd's concept of Bantustan, though not taken seriously by his enemies, certainly disturbed many of his former friends, who feared, however unjustly, that he intended to 'give the country away to the Blacks'. The last general election gave birth, first to the Republican Party, and then to the Front, both standing on a platform of opposition to Bantustan, maintenance of one united South Africa and of White domination over the whole country. The Nationalist Party machine, it is true, ground these parties into the dust, and they obtained very few votes. But their propaganda—eagerly seized on by the United Party—was sufficient to arouse concern among the Nationalist rank and file and to compel Government leaders to back-pedal on the Bantustan issue for the duration of the election campaign. One Nationalist leader even assured his audience that the achievement of independence by the Bantustans was nothing to worry about because it would not come about for at least 200 years. It was only after Verwoerd's assassination that a correspondent of the English press reported that the Premier had been distressed by the lack of understanding among the Afrikaner people of his Bantustan policies.

Nor was it only on the Bantustan front that there was this 'lack of understanding'. There has also been serious disturbance in the ranks of the Afrikaner workers over the Government's apparent willingness to tolerate meddling with the traditional colour bar in the sphere of labour. Tens of thousands of White workers in the Mineworkers' Union alone have been at loggerheads ever since the original 'experiment' in promoting African workers to more skilled spheres of work was initiated, with Government consent, in 1965. The diehard reactionaries among the workers have been trying desperately ever since to dislodge the existing leadership of the Mineworkers' Union, who are condemned as liberals and 'kafferboeties'. Bearing in mind

that the Mineworkers' Union was the first big trade union to be captured by the Nationalist Party on its road to power and has long been regarded as one of the staunchest bastions of the Party, one can well understand the anxiety with which the Broederbond regarded this conflict in the ranks of Afrikanerdom as it spread from union to union, from one area to another. In fact, there was scarcely a single sphere in which the Nationalist Party operated where this conflict between the 'liberals' and the 'reactionaries', reflecting the new class divisions growing inside the Party, did not threaten the unity of the Party and, ultimately, its hold on the apparatus of power. There was the revolt among the intellectuals in the form of the 'Sestiger' movement. There was the breakaway of those predikants who helped to form the Christian Institute. Truly, Afrikanerdom despite its seeming invulnerability was being shaken to its spiritual foundations.

On August 21st, 1966, the *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg published an exposure of 'some of the secret activities and operations of the Hertzog Group (also known as the S. E. D. Brown Group), which has recently been sharply attacked in the Nationalist Press'. This Group, called the 'Afrikane Orde' was founded by Dr. Albert Hertzog, and has several hundred influential members; its fascist journal, *S.A. Observer*, edited by Mr. S. E. D. Brown, is financed by a secret fund believed to be controlled by Dr. Hertzog.

At a secret meeting last year of the 'Afrikane Orde' addressed by Dr. Hertzog, Dr. Verwoerd's leadership was discussed and it was decided that he was no longer 'suitable' . . . One of the principal aims of the 'Afrikane Orde' is to infiltrate Nationalist youth movements like the Afrikaanse Studentebond and the Jeugbond, with the intention of taking them over eventually. If it succeeded in its aim—it has a certain support already—it would be in a position to make a take-over bid for the control of the Nationalist Party.

Among those tainted by 'foreign influences' in the eyes of the *S.A. Observer* were Professor H. B. Thom, rector of Stellenbosch University and Chairman of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations (F.A.K.); Dominee Gericke, moderator of the Cape Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church; Dr. Anton Rupert, the tobacco king; Dr. M. S. Louw, Dr. H. J. van Eck and Dr. Etienne Rousseau, all members of the new Afrikaner élite of financiers and technocrats. Thousands of students at the Afrikaans universities signed a petition protesting at the A.S.B. motion of thanks to Mr. Brown.

A motion of praise for Mr. Brown and his journal was passed at the congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond at Stellenbosch in July. As an A.S.B. executive member later explained, the students wished to

express their gratitude to Mr. Brown because he had worked for a Republic; had exposed the role of the English press on behalf of liberalism; had warned against the Christian Institute; had alerted the country to the danger of N.U.S.A.S.' left-wing activities; had fought Communism and internationalism; had reported fully on the Rivonia sabotage case and the menace of the United Nations; and had opposed Senator Kennedy's visit to South Africa.

But the A.S.B. motion provoked an immediate answer from the more moderate elements inside the Nationalist Party, who had been incensed by attacks launched by the *S.A. Observer* against prominent Afrikaners, dubbed as 'liberalists' and by implication almost fellow-travellers and certainly dupes of the Communists. Mass meetings of protest were called, and the pressure was so great that the Students' Representative Councils of Pretoria and Stellenbosch Universities and the A.S.B. executive itself were forced to repudiate Mr. Brown and denounce his attacks on leading Afrikaners as 'totally unfounded'.

In his political column in *Die Burger* on August 5th, the editor, writing under his pseudonym 'Dawie', said: 'A solid healthy Afrikaner opinion has for a long time been in secret rebellion against the activities of the journal and the mainly Northern little circle which is associated with it'.

Most other Nationalist journals also condemned the *Observer* and the smear tactics it used against leading Afrikaners, and *Die Volksblad* pointed out on August 11th that just as the 'concern and worry among Nationalists and Afrikaners about the abuse and casting of suspicion on leaders in cultural, business and political affairs, is not limited to any particular point of the compass in this country', so in turn it had to be recognized that the method and direction of thought to which they objected 'naturally has more carriers than the editor of the challenged journals and that they 'are domiciled not only in the North'.

THE ULTRA-RIGHT

THE ONLY NATIONALIST paper to venture a half-hearted defence of the right wing in the Nationalist Party was the Johannesburg daily *Die Vaderland*, but Brown's political and spiritual bed-fellows included such well-known Nationalists, as Dr. Albert Hertzog, Dr. Piet Meyer, head of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and chairman of the Broederbond; Mr. Jaap Marais, M.P.; Professor A. D. Pont and Mr. A. M. van Schoor, editor of *Die Vaderland*. Brown and Marais were members of the organizing committee of the first anti-Communist 'volkskongres', sponsored by the Inter-Church Anti-

Communist Action Committee of the Dutch Reform Church held in Pretoria in April 1964. Other members of the organizing committee included Mr. Ivor Benson, former Talks Organiser of the S.A.B.C. and later Ian Smith's first press censor in Rhodesia; Dr. Piet Koornhof, secretary of the Broederbond; and Mr. G. H. Beetge, an official of the White Building Workers' Union and one of those most strongly opposed to any relaxation of the industrial colour bar. The conference, after hearing addresses by local and overseas 'experts' on Communism, appealed to the Government to take steps against the 'liberalistic' press in South Africa, and decided to establish a standing national council to combat 'Communism'.

Chairman of the D.R.C.'s Anti-Communist Action Committee is Dr. J. D. Vorster, actuary of the General Synod and a brother of the man who was then Minister of Justice, now Prime Minister of South Africa. During the war Dr. Vorster was an ardent admirer of Hitler and the policies expounded in 'Mein Kampf', and, like his brother, was arrested and interned for his pro-Nazi activities. According to an interview published in the *Cape Argus* on June 27th, 1964, he believes that he and his brother have been 'called' to save South Africa from Communism.

'To me it is more than mere coincidence that we have both become Ministers of Justice, I of the church and he of the Government. As such we have a duty to perform and we do it gladly and in spite of criticism.'

Denying that he and his brother influenced each other in their actions, Dr. Vorster said, 'I think the truth is that we feel so much alike on many issues that we almost always come to the same conclusions and act accordingly. In this respect we are almost like identical twins'. In the course of the interview, Dr. Vorster said Nazism was much more acceptable to him than Communism 'because it is in the first instance not materialistic and because it is not, like Communism, international. My own belief is not national socialism but Christian-Nationalism . . . And my brother is 100 per cent with me'.

It is hardly surprising that the second 'anti-Communist' Congress held in Pretoria at the end of September brought together another bevy of lunatic-fringe fascists invited by Dr. Vorster from Europe and America, including pre-revolutionary royalties and Cabinet ministers from Eastern Europe and Birchites from America, one of whom astounded the South Africans by informing them that but for 'Communist influence' in the American Government, the United States would have won the Vietnam war long ago.

The assassination of Verwoerd cannot be viewed apart from this background of the growth of this trend of violent and bigoted ideological Nazism inside and outside the Nationalist Party. The columnist Neels Natte, writing in *Die Transvaler*, Verwoerd's own paper, of which he was for many years editor, confirmed on August 12th that that the witch-hunt in the Nationalist Party had gone to such lengths that it had affected even the Prime Minister himself. It was only a few weeks later that the assassin's dagger was plunged into Dr. Verwoerd's body. Into his shoes stepped—'by unanimous consent' of the whole Nationalist Party leadership, the bloodstained Minister of Justice, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, who in May 1963 had said:

> We have reached the stage in our national history when we realize more and more that there are times in a nation's history when not only reason must speak but blood as well—and that time is now.

If the era of Verwoerd had been characterized by an attempt to clothe crude racialism with a certain attempt at sophisticated rationalization and psychological subtlety, we may be sure that the rule of his successor, Chief Hangman and Torturer Vorster, will dispense with such refinements. 'Not reason but blood', is the slogan of this Police Chief in the Police State. Beginning in blood, his term of office is hardly likely to end otherwise; we can but hope that it will be brief.

FÜHRER VORSTER

BALTHAZAR JOHANNES VORSTER was one of fifteen children born to his parents on a farm in the Eastern Cape and brought up in the strict Calvinist traditions of the rural Afrikaner. Of the fifteen children, one died in infancy. Of the remaining fourteen, five brothers and four sisters are still alive.

Balthazar Vorster said in after-years that he received many canings from his father which didn't do him any harm, and uses this experience to justify the million lashes which have been administered to 200,000 prisoners, Black and White, in South African prisons and police cells during the last twenty years. The number of whippings imposed has increased eight fold under Nationalist rule, to the scandal of the whole civilized world.

TOWARDS NATIONAL SOCIALISM

THE YOUNG ADVOCATE Vorster had barely got himself started on his career when South Africa was engulfed by the Second World War and the spread of Nazi ideas and activities among Afrikaner nationalists was

raised to new heights. Vorster joined an organization called the Ossewa Brandwag (Oxwagon Sentinel), a fascist organization built on military lines with a view to taking over power by force, negotiating with a victorious Hitler and establishing a totalitarian racist regime in South Africa. The future Nationalist Minister of Justice scorned the Parliamentary tactics of the Nationalist Party at that time under Dr. Malan, and committed himself to an organization whose leader, Van Rensburg, boasted: 'I fought (Smuts') war effort and I fought it bitterly with all the means at my disposal—which were considerable . . . There is no doubt that they (the O.B. members) seriously hampered the government's war effort.' The Ossewa Brandwag went in for a campaign of sabotage and terrorism directed against military installations and the army personnel. 'We often broke the law—and broke it shatteringly', said van Rensburg.

While South African troops were fighting and dying to make the world safe from Hitlerism, Vorster, as an Ossewa Brandwag 'general', was parading his gangs of hooligans in secret and preparing them physically and ideologically for 'Der Tag'. Today he claims to be fighting to save democracy and Western civilization from Communist subversion; but in 1942 he said:

> '*We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany Nationalism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism*'.

Vorster was arrested under the war-time emergency regulations in September 1942. He says he was kept in solitary confinement for forty-two days, went on hunger strike in protest and as a result was transferred to Koffiefontein internment camp where he was prisoner No. 2229/42 in Hut 48, Camp 1. He was released on parole in January 1944 and placed under house arrest until the end of the war, needing a special permit every time he had to leave the town for any purpose. His personal experience of solitary confinement and house arrest did not restrain him from using both weapons against his political opponents after he became Minister of Justice.

After the war, Vorster again became involved in politics. The Ossewa Brandwag was absorbed in the Afrikaner Party of Mr. Havenga, which had entered into an electoral alliance with the Nationalist Party for the 1948 elections. Vorster was nominated by the Afrikaner Party for Brakpan, but ironically enough was vetoed by the Nationalist Party which felt that his war record would make him unacceptable to the electorate. But Vorster eventually got the nomination, to be defeated by the English-speaking United Party member A. E. Trollip, who was

later to cross the floor and join the Nationalist Party on being offered the position of Minister of Labour and Immigration which he at present holds.

THE STRONG ARM

VORSTER PERSEVERED AND was later elected member of Parliament for Nigel, but for many years remained an obscure back-bencher who was thought to have little hope of promotion because of his war record, and his ultra-Fascist views which made him an embarrassment to the 'democratic' and 'reasonable' appearance which the Nationalist Party was anxious to present to the country and the world. But the reality of mass oppression and intense exploitation, and the mounting resistance of the people, were making it more and more difficult to preserve such an appearance without making some genuine concessions to the non-White majority. A point of decision was reached with the deep crisis which opened the sixties on South Africa. The police massacre of pacific demonstrators at Sharpeville was followed by a national protest strike and the mass burning of passes, the declaration of a 'state of emergency' and mass arrests without trial of democratic leaders of all national groups. A tide of revulsion swept through South Africa and the world. Business and financial circles panicked; gold and other shares tumbled drastically on the stock market. Foreign investment dried up, and only a massive 'rescue operation' by United States financiers prevented a major crash.

For a brief period, more sober elements among the ruling classes seemed to be shrinking from the abyss towards which the Nationalist leaders were plunging. Verwoerd was out of action, critically injured by the revolver shot at his head by the white farmer, David Pratt. The acting Prime Minister, financier Paul Sauer, made a notable speech of a conciliatory tone such as had not been heard for many years, conceding that many things were wrong in South Africa and promising that 'the old book' of the history of our country had been closed and a new book would be opened. But the right-wing, fascist forces rallied to call the Whites to unite for a last-ditch defence of their privileges. A reign of terror and police dictatorship was launched, intended to make the already dictatorial methods of previous Justice Ministers Swart and Erasmus seem mild. The man selected to implement this project was the bitter, ruthless unrepentant Nazi, Vorster. He was promoted, over the heads of party colleagues, as Minister of Justice.

In his first speech as Minister Vorster declared that 'rights were getting out of hand in South Africa', and in all his subsequent legislation he has acted to ensure that the rights of Government opponents

were whittled down to nothing. In 1962 he pushed through Parliament the notorious Sabotage Act, equipping him with sweeping powers to restrict the political leaders of the people (house arrest, prohibition on publication of statements by banned people, etc.) and making various forms of political activity ranging from the distribution of leaflets to outright acts of violence punishable by a minimum of five years imprisonment to a maximum of death.

THE POLICE STATE

WHEN THIS DRACONIC law failed to bring the sabotage campaigns to an end, Vorster during 1963 pushed the General Law Amendment Act through Parliament, increasing the range of political offences punishable by death and containing the notorious ninety-day no-trial clause which put an end to the rule of law and turned South Africa into an out-and-out police state in which the life and liberty of any person is placed at the mercy of any police officer, with the jurisdiction of the courts expressly excluded.

'I appreciate that it is not a measure which is proper in peace time', Vorster declared during the debate on the ninety-day no-trial Act. He knew he was opening the way to torture of political prisoners. 'The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition said that he had seen human beings being broken (when he was a prisoner of war). It is not a very nice thing to see a human being being broken. I have seen it and he has seen it. The man taking these powers must take responsibility for them.'

In his own words Vorster must take responsibility for the ghastly crimes against humanity which have been perpetrated by his police force during the last seventeen months. Here is the tally:

* About 800 people of all races have been held in solitary confinement without legal right of access to lawyers, relatives or friends. At least sixty have been held for more than ninety days, and eight, including three women, for more than 180 days.

* About 400 have been charged in court, but more than 300 have been released without being charged. About fifty have given evidence for the State under promise of indemnity.

* At least forty-nine detainees have complained of assaults by policemen or warders—twenty-six alleged kicking and hitting, nineteen said they were kicked, hit and electrically shocked with sacks tied over their heads.

* Two detainees have committed suicide by hanging in their cells and in September 1964, a third, Suliman Saloojee, leapt or was hurled to his death from the window of the seventh floor room at Security Police

headquarters in Johannesburg where he was being 'interrogated'.

* At least five detainees have been examined by psychiatrists or been admitted to mental hospitals.

* Latest 'interrogation' techniques are more refined. Electric shock torture has been apparently abandoned, following exposure and international protest. Today detainees are kept standing indefinitely until they drop or, their minds broken, agree to make statements.

'It is not a very nice thing to see a human being being broken,' said Vorster. But he connives at the breaking. At this moment about 100 men and women are under 180-day detention. The room on the seventh floor from which Saloojee threw himself to his death has had bars placed over the windows. It will be more difficult for detainees to commit suicide in future. But the mind-breaking which drives them to suicide goes on. And Vorster justifies it.

'History taught that nothing so destroyed a great nation as weak leadership', he told a symposium on 'The challenge of leadership' at Stellenbosch University in March of this year. And in May he told a Republic Day meeting in Rustenburg: 'It is no secret that the threats against South Africa are drawing to their climax. Ask me what we should do when this climax comes? There is only one thing I can say to you: "If you lie down you are finished".'

Vorster has consistently refused Opposition demands for a judicial inquiry into the allegations of torture of political prisoners, saying he has full confidence in his police force. He has equally refused to withdraw the 180-day no-trial law, saying he is not willing to 'chop off the hands of my police'. He boasts of the results of his work: under various security laws, 3,355 people of all races, including 592 in the Transkei, were detained in South Africa last year. Since March 1963 there have been 111 political trials in which 1,315 persons were charged. Their fate was:

44 sentenced to death;
12 sentenced to life imprisonment;
894 sentenced to a total of 5,713 years' imprisonment;
340 acquitted;
1 sentenced to six lashes;
4 sentences unknown;
18 remanded.

In the maximum security prison camp on Robben Island, seven miles off Cape Town, about 1,500 prisoners, including about 1,000 political prisoners, are incarcerated under abominable conditions.

The raids and arrests, the beatings and the tortures continue. Daily new political trials come before the courts.

REPLY TO THE CHALLENGE

Once again, at a critical moment of choice, South Africa's doomed white supremacists have rejected the path of sanity.

It is a sad comment on the changing times that the choice of this sinister and bloodstained sadist to succeed Dr. Verwoerd has been made without open opposition or even a whimper of protest, not only inside the ruling Party, but even from liberal and 'Progressive' circles in South Africa, and their counterparts in the capitalist countries abroad.

This silence by no means reflects the feelings of the true South African democracy, above all those of the voiceless and voteless subjected majority. They know this move for what it is, an open declaration of merciless war against the people. They know it as a challenge; that again, as in 1960, the racist rulers have refused the slightest concession but deliberately spat in the faces of the South African people and the principles of humanity. To this challenge there can be but one reply—to struggle harder on every front for the liberation of our tortured country. Power is ours—but we must be ready to fight as never before to realize and gain it. It is freedom or death.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

CONCERN ABOUT CHINA

FRIENDS OF THE Chinese Revolution in all countries are expressing the gravest concern at the turn the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party has been taking towards increasing isolation from the other socialist countries and the rest of the international Communist movement. Such a policy only serves to harm the interests of all fighters for socialism, liberation and peace; of the heroic Vietnamese people in their great resistance to American imperialist aggression; and—not least—of the Chinese people themselves.

Recent reports suggest that this concern is shared by very many among the seasoned and experienced Marxist-Leninists of China; indeed it would be strange if this were not so. Perhaps this helps to account for some of the reported excesses of the so-called cultural revolution, in which the youthful 'Red Guards' would seem to be directed rather against elected leaders of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League than against the remaining elements of capitalism which exist in the country.

Without attempting to pass judgment on the internal affairs of People's China, Communists everywhere cannot but query generalizations which seek to brand the great cultural treasures of capitalist and pre-capitalist civilisations as 'reactionary' and 'harmful'. Marx and Lenin loved and respected the writers, poets and musicians of past

ages; to belittle and even ban their works is unhistorical and un-Communist. It may be that these are minor questions in comparison with the great sweep and achievements of the Chinese revolution, which is transforming the lives of hundreds of millions of people. But they are manifestations of an increasingly marked tendency to disregard and defy the experiences, good and bad, of the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. over the past fifty years, and of the century old international Communist movement. This departure from Communist traditions manifests itself in strange and unaccountable ways.

It is impossible, for example, for South African revolutionaries to understand or condone the way in which the Chinese leadership has taken under its patronage so discredited a collection of political hitch-hikers as the leadership-in-exile of the defunct 'Pan-Africanist Congress' of South Africa (which country they have, for some lunatic reason of their own, recently taken to calling 'Azania', a name unknown to our people). The P.A.C. leaders, as we have more than once had occasion to recall in these columns, built their organization from the start on the basis of rabid anti-Communist slanders. Even now, in the safety of exile, they continue to spit their venom at Congress and Communist leaders like Mandela and Fischer, whose shoe-laces they are not fit to tie.

We cannot believe that our Chinese comrades can really take seriously the claims of P.A.C. to be the authentic representatives of the liberation movement of our country. But we cannot help feeling, either, that the current anti-Soviet campaign of the Chinese leaders has brought them to a stage where they will accept any allies, however dubious their standing or their motives. It is this campaign itself which is at the root of the matter. We consider it to be profoundly mistaken, fraught with the gravest dangers for the cause of national liberation, socialism and peace. It has achieved nothing but to encourage the ambitions and adventures of the imperialists and to cause disarray and confusion among the ranks of the anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

Let our Chinese comrades dispassionately survey the years since 1960 when this fraternal strife came out into the open. They have been years of intensified imperialist counter-revolutionary offensives in Vietnam, in Indonesia (resulting in the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Communists) and elsewhere in Asia. Of intrigues and aggression in Africa (including the overthrow of the progressive Nkrumah government). Of intensified intervention in Latin America (including the crude suppression of the democratic revolution in Santo Domingo). It is scarcely conceivable that all these acts of brazen and illegal aggression could have been carried out in the face

of a united and vigilant anti-imperialist front, spearheaded by the Communists.

We are not saying that the Chinese comrades alone are to blame for this tragic division in the ranks of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. The supreme task of today, transcending all others, is not to apportion blame for the past, but to heal the breach and stand together against the enemy. And we must bluntly say that, in this all-important task, the present trend of Chinese policy is purely negative.

These matters are too grave to pass over them in silence. We must achieve unity. The longer it is delayed the heavier will be the cost, to the oppressed and exploited of the earth; to the cause of freedom, peace and socialism; and also to the future of the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution.

TRIBUTES TO SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

WIDE INTEREST, IN many parts of the world, was evoked by the forty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the South African Communist Party. Inside South Africa itself, an underground message from the Central Committee was widely distributed and commented on even in the bourgeois press. Abroad, in Moscow's *Pravda*, in Prague's *Rude Pravo*, and many other journals in a score of countries, special articles were published drawing attention to the anniversary, and evaluating the Communist Party's contribution towards South African liberation during the forty-five stormy years of its history.

Many of these articles showed that the writers had made a detailed study of our country and our Party, and South African Communists find it a great source of satisfaction and encouragement that our comrades in every corner of the world rate the work of our Party for national freedom, and its creative application of Communist principles to the understanding and solution of our country's problems, very highly indeed. An anniversary greeting from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declares that the South African Communists, in their Party programme, 'have worked out the theoretical principles of the liberatory struggle, have given the people a clear perspective and defined the forms of struggle for the establishment of a genuinely democratic system in the country, calling the masses of the people for the revolutionary overthrow of the infamous racist regime'. The message adds that our South African Communist Party 'has won the well-merited esteem of the world Communist and national liberation movements by its consistent struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for real proletarian internationalism'.

It is impossible for South Africans to read without emotion the warm tribute of the British Communists in a letter from their General Secretary, John Gollan. 'Continuing the great tradition of the founders of your Party, Bill Andrews, S. P. Bunting and Ivon Jones', he wrote, 'and fighting in the spirit of the martyred Johannes Nkosi, you are carrying on the struggle for national freedom, for the ending of apartheid and white supremacy, for the rights and interests of the working people. The story of your Party in the successive battles of the people for these noble aims is among the finest in the annals of the international communist movement. . . . In the face of open fascist terror you have upheld the great Communist principles of racial equality, national liberation and socialism.' Everywhere, Comrade Gollan points out, the courageous struggles of the South African people inspire the deepest respect. 'The vital part played by your Party is one which has won it the love and admiration not only of brother Communist Parties but of millions of others inside and outside South Africa. . . .'

A letter from C. Rajeswara Rao, general secretary, on behalf of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, expresses appreciation of the statement in the S.A.C.P. programme that the South Africans of Indian origin have turned their backs on reformist bourgeois leadership and have unreservedly joined the many struggles of the African and other oppressed peoples' . . . 'because we know that your Party by its principled stand and courageous leadership has played a great role in bringing about this change'.

From Hanoi (a cable from the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party wishing the S.A.C.P. 'new successes in the struggle for freedom and democracy for South African labouring people); from the German Democratic Republic ('The Socialist Unity Party and the entire population . . . stand firmly and resolutely at the side of the S.A.C.P. and the South African people', wrote comrade Ullbricht); from the French and Italian Communist Parties; from Cyprus and Canada, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, warm greetings reached the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party.

Cordially appreciated was the message from Comrade Ali Yata, general secretary of the Moroccan Communist Party. 'You especially have braved the racist terror of apartheid, whose ferocity has few equals in history and is denounced by the human race . . . we shall make every effort to contribute to your struggles, regarding them as our own.'

To all who commemorated and greeted our Party's anniversary we express our thanks, our pledge to fight unflinchingly for freedom for our people and the advance of socialism for mankind.

TESTING TIME FOR GHANA

JOAN BELLAMY

THE OVERTHROW OF the Ghana Government on February 24th of this year was a most serious setback to the advance of the African continent. In no less than seven independent African states military coups have taken place since the one in Algeria in June 1965. They reveal the intense pressures and strains to which the new states are subjected soon after winning their independence. In some cases the coups have been launched to overthrow progressive Governments, in others they have been launched to forestall the emergence of more radical forces which were challenging reactionary and corrupt regimes.

For a short period, it seemed that in Africa, imperialism would be able to rely successfully on economic and diplomatic pressures, the colonial state apparatus which was left behind and rigged constitutional arrangements, to keep the new states in line. In any case, after the Suez fiasco they were not able to threaten the use of traditional gunboat methods quite so readily.

Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Mali, Congo Brazzaville, Guinea, Tanzania, in spite of pressures, emerged as a significant anti-imperialist group on the African continent. Their policies of internal planned development, support for the national liberation movement, closer relations with the Socialist countries and positive non-alignment, gave a powerful impetus to the continent as a whole.

Imperialism launched its counter-offensive. Bribery and corruption, already familiar imperialist techniques, powerful propaganda campaigns against the progressive states and their leaderships and the encouragement of opposition and dissident elements were some of the methods they used. The opposition is usually drawn from the so-called 'élite' of soldiers, civil servants, and university graduates, trained by the former colonialist rulers. They have little or no mass political basis and they resort to violence, assassination and military force to win power on behalf of their imperialist masters.

While each country has distinct and specific features which help to explain the coups which have taken place, there are some general features which it would be useful to describe before examining some details of Ghana's situation.

After independence the question arises of 'what next?' The mass of the people look to independence to bring a higher standard of living, education, social services and all the things denied them by

colonialism. The only way to achieve these benefits and to ensure political independence is to begin the long and difficult task of transforming poverty-stricken, technically backward, agrarian societies, with strong elements of tribalism and feudalism, into modern industrialized nations. Such a perspective strikes at the very roots of their unequal relations with imperialism. The struggle after independence becomes therefore, more complex, more bitter.

Some sections of the national independence movements see in independence simply the opportunity to replace the old masters; they are hostile to further change. Imperialism still has a powerful base inside these states. Monopoly capitalism still dominates their economic life, controlling sources of raw materials, the limited industries and trade. The peasants depend on the sale of their cash crop in the capitalist world market which, by price manipulations, is making most of them still poorer. Bourgeois ideology is still the main one, with the skilled and literate whose training is desperately needed for development, usually dominated by its values. Anti-communism and contempt for the people are powerful elements in the training of some of the educated sections.

Although there is tremendous pressure for change and progress the working class of the new states is still relatively weak in numbers, organisation and experience, and the numbers of Marxists is still very small.

The sharpening of internal problems coincides with the challenge to the African states of Southern Africa. Here imperialism has dug in for its last ditch stand, operating through open fascist violence. The present disunity of the African states and their economic weakness prevents their being in a position to intervene, for example, in Rhodesia. This exacerbates their internal problems and lays them open to reactionary pressures.

SOCIALISM DIVIDED

These national and continental problems come to a head at a period when the full protective influence of the Socialist world cannot be fully exerted. A united Socialist sector and a united Communist Movement was one of the decisive forces on a world scale which made it possible for 27 African states to win independence in a period of four years. They are the determining factors too in creating conditions in which the non-capitalist path of development can be successfully achieved. The present division creates confusion and splits in turn within the independent states and the liberation movements. A new source of anti-Soviet propaganda has emerged to add to that coming

from the imperialist propaganda machines. The split has encouraged United States aggressiveness and consequently material resources which could have been used for aid by the Socialist states have had to be diverted.

The coinciding of these factors has increased the difficulties for the new states, and in the case of Ghana provides a background which must be taken fully into account when the reasons for the success of the coup are discussed.

The Ghana coup was carried through by a very small group of Army and Police officers, some of whom, President Nkrumah claims, were implicated in a diamond smuggling racket. It was not a mass spontaneous uprising of the people who were unarmed and in no position to retaliate with armed force against the troops. There was active resistance by the Presidential guards for a number of days.

There were, however, problems which could explain the passivity of the people in the face of the coup. There were acute economic difficulties which required important political changes of a new democratic character for their solution. Prices, especially of food were rising rapidly; wages were at a standstill; some people including leading Party members were making big money through exploiting shortages; import restrictions were, quite correctly, decided upon, but they in turn became a new source of racketeering. The balance of payments situation was serious due to the drastic fall in cocoa prices.

Closer relations with the Socialist states became yet more necessary, though this in itself involved political struggle. Urgently required were firm political measures which would have suppressed dishonest and bureaucratic elements in the Party and state and which would have aroused the creative political activity of the mass of the people.

The immediate, urgent, economic question after that of solving the food problem was to make the State Corporations pay, and around this acute struggles developed.

The achievements of the Ghana Government were by any standards remarkable. Social services, the Volta Dam, a developing infra-structure, growing new industries as well as the improvement of cocoa quality and output, were only a part of the regime's great successes. The country was on the eve of a breakthrough towards higher levels of economic activity and it was this that the coup was intended to stop. It had been possible to preserve a wide degree of national unity around Government policy up to the stage where central planning had been able to create a modern infra-structure, power resources and some industries. Then the struggle for control of these assets began.

They have been wrested from the people as a whole and are being handed over to local business sections and foreign monopolies. Some of the State Corporations are now up for sale, others will probably remain state-owned to provide cheap services for capitalist enterprises.

There were, for a few days, some illusions, inside and outside Ghana, that the coup was intended simply to force out corrupt and bureaucratic elements. Nothing could have been further from the truth. The coup was designed to change the whole system of Government and prevent any further developments to socialism in Ghana.

THE LEADERS OF THE COUP

The leaders of the coup were with one exception, members of the former colonial, army and police force, which scarcely indicates a high level of national consciousness. Every Army Officer on the National Liberation Council is Sandhurst trained, the police officers are Hendon products. The other supporters of the coup are the Chiefs, whose role in the building of a new modern state was inevitably declining, and the educated civil servants, specialists and university teachers.

Ghana's present rulers, therefore, are a self-interested group representative of those sections who were created and utilised by Britain in its system of indirect rule.

The British ruling class has always kept in touch with these sections in the hope that they would overthrow the regime. In a recent letter to *The Times*, General Alexander emphasized the bonds of respect and affection existing between British officers and the Ghana army and and adds 'Ever since I left Ghana in 1961 I have been in private correspondence with officers and other ranks of their armed forces'.

The *Sunday Telegraph* described the head of the National Liberation Council as 'A bit of a Puritan. Ankrah is anti-Socialist, let alone anti-Communist, and reckons his salad days were at the Staff College, Camberley'.

In their speeches the N.L.C. make frequent references to the Almighty, whom they clearly consider is 100 per cent on their side. The outlook of the intellectuals can perhaps best be gauged by the National Liberation Council's complaint that President Nkrumah placed uneducated men to rule over them. Their speeches frequently refer to rather nebulous eternal values and spiritual truths, ideas carried through from their mission schools.

'Speaking at the ceremony Mr. William Ofori-Atta, an Accra barrister, noted that it was praiseworthy that top Army and Police Officers of the new regime should come to confess that the glory of

the new-born revolution must be paid to God and not to man.' *Ghana Today*, July 13th, 1966.

At the recent Degree Day Ceremony of the University of Ghana, the newly-appointed Chairman of the University Council hailed the introduction of a new era of 'academic freedom' for the University, and in the next breath warned lecturers still sympathetic to the overthrown regime, to clear off the campus. He then enunciated this gem of idealist thought 'A University is after all a universal institution, and it will (sic) be absurd to think that the purpose of a University should change with its location and time. Throughout the ages all great centres of learning have kept as a sacred trust the role of pursuing truth, even to the bitter end'. After paying lip service to the need for science and technology, he embellished his speech with a quotation from that well-known imperialist Disraeli.

These quotations serve to illustrate the kind of outlook of many of the leading supporters of the new regime and the character of the problem that the Convention People's Party had to tackle in fighting for a scientific socialist theory. This kind of reactionary thinking is characteristic of the leading members of the tribal parties, and of the leadership of the United Gold Coast Convention from whom Nkrumah broke to form a new Party.

Nkrumah founded the Convention People's Party in 1947, appealing to the youth, the workers, farmers and market women, over the heads of their traditional chiefs and of the professional sections. Forms of highly effective mass propaganda and protest were developed through mass rallies, boycotts, slogans, songs and banners. Some of the Party leadership still worked as if these methods were adequate to mobilise the people for the more complex task of building a new society.

At the time of the coup, the Party was in a transitional stage between national liberation movement, embracing wide sections of the people behind the demand for independence, and a Party of a vanguard type, unified on the basis of a common revolutionary scientific ideology, capable of applying a general line to the detailed problems facing it and imbuing a sense of discipline and an example of personal devotion to the cause of socialism.

PETTY BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS

To transform the Party meant changing some of its leadership which was in the main petty bourgeois in outlook. This reflected the general class position of the country as a whole where the mass of the people are farmers and small traders. The opportunist sections of the Party

leadership panicked at the serious character of the problems facing them, which could not be solved by making speeches at rallies or praising the President. To clear their path for a retreat they were working for a purge of some of the most militant and devoted elements of the Party and the consequent in-fighting was one of the factors preventing the Party from mobilizing the people to solve the food problem and smash racketeering.

The Trades Union Congress, 386,754 strong, out of a population of over 7 million, was a wing of the Party. To make the organization of the working class a wing of a Party dominated by the petty bourgeoisie, meant in practice, that the working class was consistently hampered in its struggles to give leadership to the people as a whole. Some leading Party people supported by the Civil Servants and managers, resisted the development of joint production committees and joint consultation in industry in the name of the leading role of the Party. The T.U.C. was expected to restrain wage demands and yet mobilize the working class for increased production and sacrifices while some members of the Party were getting rich quick, making no sacrifices and exploiting shortages.

In 1965, on the eve of May Day, which was celebrated with great enthusiasm, the President outlined the leading role of the working class in building a socialist Ghana. This obviously alarmed the petty bourgeois sections of the Party who did everything possible to sabotage the efforts of the young and relatively inexperienced T.U.C. leadership. The working class was too weak to resist these manoeuvres. Only a very small number understood clearly what was required though undoubtedly the mass of the people were ready to respond to a revolutionary lead.

It was difficult to obtain a clear picture of the character of branch life in the Convention People's Party. Obviously, there were wide differences from branch to branch, some were active, many seemed to be moribund. Party membership was still open to anyone who cared to join. Many officials of the Party failed to generate democratic forms of activity and pressures and some of them wanted to imitate the standards of life of the colonial officials of the past. The only way in which corruption and bureaucracy could have been smashed was to allow the mass membership of the Party to feel sure that if they fought, the Party would be behind them. In some branches the members could not feel that assurance.

Measures were being taken to speed up the transformation of the Party. There was a new category of membership introduced called Vanguard Activists, the Ideological Institute was established at

Winneba, *The Spark*, 'a Socialist Weekly of the African Revolution' was founded. All these could, given time, have made their impact.

Nkrumah encouraged the fight for scientific socialist concepts. Nkrumaism is close, in many respects to a Marxist position, and *Consciencism* raises such important questions as the impact on Africa of Christianity and of Islam, and the degree to which traditional African communal forms of social organization and values can operate as positive factors in the struggle for independence and socialism.

Many of the ideas, however, are still not very well developed and leave the field clear for debate in which many anti-Marxists, claiming to be Nkrumaists can find some support for their views. It was nevertheless an important stage forward from the ideology of African socialism and has significant creative elements within it.

Scientific socialist ideas were not yet widely accepted or understood in the Convention People's Party. It was not ideology, but Nkrumah himself who was the unifying factor in the Party. Consequently there was a strong tendency for the fight for policy to become a fight to win his approval. The struggle from below for policies was by-passed. While this was a short cut to getting some work done, it developed an atmosphere of intrigue, access to Nkrumah becoming an important source of political influence.

It was the opportunist elements of the Party who actively fostered the adulation of Nkrumah. He himself initiated press articles and discussions on its dangers but in practice there was vacillation. This reflected, not vanity or a lust for power, but the very real problems of the fight for collective leadership and for democratic centralism in a Party which was not yet led by the working class and not yet firmly based on scientific socialism.

The transforming of the state in Ghana was no less complicated than that of transforming the Party or the economy. The major contradiction was that while the Government adopted progressive policies, the day-to-day administration of them lay with the Civil Service which was in general out of sympathy with the aims and which operated like the British Civil Service in whose traditions it had been trained. To counter this, politically reliable people were often given very big responsibilities for which they had little or no training, and overburdened as most of them were, they did not always show up favourably alongside the old guard.

These were some of the more serious difficulties that the Convention People's Party had to solve. Given time they would have overcome them; unfortunately imperialism was able to take advantage of a particularly difficult period to intervene successfully.

LESSONS OF THE SETBACK

The coup in Ghana does not mean by any means the end of the fight for Socialism in that country. The setback is serious but not irretrievable. Other revolutions have had their setbacks, the important thing is to try and learn the lessons from them.

The National Liberation Council is no nearer solving Ghana's problems than it was on the day it took over. It has abandoned the only way of doing that, the non-capitalist way. Food prices are still rising, corruption goes on but more openly, education is being cut back, the country is being parcelled out to monopoly capitalism. Great claims were made that the N.L.C. respected individual freedoms and yet there are more people without trial in Ghana's prisons today than at any time in Ghana's history. The corrupt elements of the C.P.P. are being allowed to buy their way out of prison by yielding up some of their ill-gotten gains, others are denouncing everything the Party stood for. The incorruptible, the convinced socialists, are still in prison six months after their arrest.

The beginnings of the fight back are already emerging. The National Liberation Council is complaining about unrest, which they choose to call hooliganism, there is trouble in the secondary schools, there are strikes which the Council say are illegal, and which they threaten they will investigate. They lecture the people on the need to tighten their belts and not expect miracles.

This is one of the most difficult periods Ghana has ever experienced. It is a stern testing time from which the forces loyal to independence and socialism will fight through, more unified, disciplined and with greater clarity, to mobilize the people to get rid of the arbitrary rule of soldiers and officers and resume with surer steps their advance to a socialist Ghana.

Drought, Water and Politics in Southern Africa

A. ZANZOLO

IT IS A central feature of present-day South African government propaganda to maintain that, however bad the country's political problems, the economy is being properly managed. Not only the government information services but numerous business and financial organizations such as the South African Foundation assiduously spread this picture of South Africa. Glossy and sophisticated magazines and advertisements costing thousands of rand to produce, repeat the theme ad nauseum.

Most of the propaganda reflects the usual capitalist's short-sighted view of economic progress as confined to quick turnover of capital and easy profits. In the gold-mining and other extractive industries, ruthless exploitation of the wealth of the country regardless of the consequences for future generations is extolled in headlines of the 'another record year' variety. The vast majority of the people of South Africa are kept artificially bound hand and foot by racially discriminatory laws, and thus prevented from developing skills and creative abilities. The oppression of the main economic base of any country—its people—is called '*proper management of the economy*'!

Perhaps it is asking too much of the White Supremacists to expect them to consider the interests of the country, not just their own. But no matter how it is viewed, the irresponsibility of the white minority government is nowhere more vividly illustrated than in its attitude to the water resources of South Africa. The white minority governments of South Africa bear as heavy a responsibility as their British imperialist allies for the criminal neglect of proper planning for conservation of the soil and water of Southern Africa.

It is fashionable to refer constantly to the apparently inexhaustible wealth of the Republic of South Africa. The country is undoubtedly highly developed and has vast untapped human and material resources which can only be brought into full service of the people under a popular democratic government. But the country has an Achilles heel. This is the absence of adequate water potential. The problem affects not only the Republic of South Africa but the whole vast area of Namibia (South West Africa) and the Republic of Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland).

In a statement reported in the *Star* of July 23rd, 1966, Dr. N.

Stutterheim, Vice-President of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, called the lack of adequate water supplies 'a great weak link' in South Africa's development. The issue has been sharply raised in the last five years by the worst drought for a century. Except for Southern Natal and parts of the Eastern Cape, rainfall has been well below average since 1961. The losses suffered in production of crops and stock run into hundreds of millions of rand.

The Minister of Agricultural, Technical Services and Water Affairs, Mr. J. J. Fouche has made an impassioned appeal to South Africans to conserve more water. As he put it: 'On the Rand in particular we are fighting for our economic existence' (*Sunday Times*, July 26th, 1966). Both in this statement and in reply to questions in parliament Mr. Fouche vaguely mentioned various schemes the government had in mind to tackle the shortage of water, including the costly and uneconomic one of desalination of sea water on a large scale. He also referred Parliament to the progress of the expensive prestige project—the 'Orange River Scheme' whose cost is estimated at R450 million. All this might suggest that something adequate is about to be done on conservation of water. Nothing could be further from the truth. Selfish short-term considerations which will not solve the problem are dominant even in regard to this Orange River project.

PROBLEMS FOR LESOTHO

But it is not only the White minority government of South Africa whose conduct must be scrutinized in this connection. Throughout the whole period of their rule in Botswana, Lesotho and elsewhere in Southern Africa, the British have done almost nothing to save the land and water for posterity. In Botswana there are available water resources in the North-West of the country especially in the Okavango area which, if properly regulated and distributed, could do much to alleviate water shortage in that country. When such a scheme was first suggested by Chief Tshekedi Khama British officials laughed at what they considered a completely unrealistic idea. It now turns out he was right, and that it was deliberate British policy to prevent development of Botswana, as this would interfere with the flow of labour to the mines of the Republic.

In South Africa itself, in the same way, some of the best watered areas have been deliberately starved of state development funds, and kept in under-developed condition to be reservoirs of labour. The so-called Reserves were and are so small that they are unable to support the population forced to live in them; the object again is to maintain these areas as reservoirs of labour for the mines. The fact that

this has resulted in overcrowded, overstocked and overworked land, and harmed the whole future of South Africa has meant nothing to those in power.

The richest region of South Africa, the Northern Free State and the Witwatersrand complex, has a population of approximately five million. Over two-thirds of South Africa's industrial enterprises are in this area, producing almost half the country's goods. The largest gold-mining industry in the capitalist world lies here. The giant steel towns of Van Der Bijl Park, Vereeniging and Pretoria are in this region, producing more steel than perhaps the whole of the rest of Africa put together. So too is Sasolburg, the largest oil producing plant and the 'maize belt' which is one of the most valuable farming areas in the Republic. This is the richest industrial and commerical region on the continent and is expanding at a rapid rate. For its water resources this vital region depends on the Vaal River. The maximum supply of water available from the Vaal River is 650 million gallons a day. In twenty years time it is estimated that the need of Johannesburg and surrounding areas alone will require all the 650 million gallons. This is assuming that the present rate of expansion is maintained. Then what?

VAAL AND ORANGE

And there are other parts of the Republic equally vital to its development. The Southern Free State, Karroo and North West Cape are always most adversely affected by any drought, with disastrous results for the wool industry. (The hometown of the present Fascist Prime Minister—Mr. B. J. Vorster—is in Jamestown which is situated in the North West Cape in the middle of this treeless, dry and waterless farming area.)

The characteristic of the plans and suggestions made by the government for these regions is that they are terribly expensive and involve spending money on the White farmers who are the main political support of the governing party. But, perhaps for these very reasons, they do not constitute a solution of the problem, which requires fundamental changes in political and economic attitudes in the Republic.

This can be clearly seen in the political background to the Orange River Scheme and to the Ox-Bow Lake Scheme. The Orange River Scheme lies wholly within the Republic of South Africa, the Ox-Bow Scheme within Lesotho. Both are concerned with the usage of the waters of a single river, the Orange, which rises in the mountains of Lesotho, is fed from the snows of Lesotho's peaks, and flows thousands of miles across South Africa to the Atlantic.

In 1963, the Verwoerd government announced its decision to embark on what has become known as the Orange River Scheme. The plan is to dam the Orange River near its confluence with the Caledon inside South African territory. From this point on, through a series of dams and large-scale irrigation works, vast tracts of territory all occupied by white farmers would benefit. In addition water would be pumped to the industrial complexes further North. The scheme is estimated to cost some R450 million, but will almost certainly run to more. And the consequent cost of water in the vital industrial heart of the country will become prohibitively high. Already water pumped to Johannesburg from the nearby Vaal River costs thirty cents per thousand gallons. Orange River Scheme water will cost considerably more.

The vital aspect of the matter however is that the water thus freely planned for and disposed of by the South African government comes from the river's source in Lesotho. According to estimates made for the Lesotho authorities, 1,500 million gallons per day flow from Lesotho into the lower reaches of the river within the Republic of South Africa. It is this water which the Pretoria government, with typical white South African arrogance, has decided to drain off and allocate, without so much as a 'by-your-leave' or any negotiation with the Lesotho government.

For Lesotho, the Orange River Scheme cuts right across the national interests. Lesotho is the one part of the sub-continent which has abundant water. Water is its main national resource, and on the use to which it puts its water depends, in large measure, the future of the country. The Ox-Bow Lake Scheme is the most significant proposal ever put forward for the harnessing of Lesotho's water resources, which at this time go unchecked and virtually unused down the mountain slopes to South Africa. The Ox-Bow Lake Scheme was fully investigated and reported on by a Cape Town engineer engaged by the authorities some years ago, before Lesotho won its independence. Mr. Shand's report was widely publicized inside South Africa at the time, well before the Orange River Scheme had been fully considered. The South African government was fully aware that Lesotho had under consideration a scheme to dam the head-waters of the Orange. Yet the British authorities were never consulted by South Africa about its rival Orange River Scheme; nor in fact did the British authorities ever protest against that scheme and its arrogant assumptions that Lesotho would willingly continue to pour its wealth out at the feet of white supremacist South Africa.

The consultant, Mr. Ninham Shand reporting on the Ox-Bow Lake

Scheme in Basutoland in 1962 stated: 'The water is of a very high standard of chemical purity and of very low turbidity. Owing to the sparse animal and human population it also has little or no bacteriological contamination. These are all ideal attributes for domestic and industrial supplies.' Water could be supplied to any part of the Witwatersrand region by gravity and still leave sufficient to develop substantial blocks of hydro-electric power. In fact Lesotho can without difficulty supply water as far afield as the Botswana Republic.

The first stage of the scheme for supplying South Africa would be the construction of a dam on the Malibamatso River, one of the sources of the Orange, at a place known as Oxbow. By means of a tunnel bored through the Drakensberg mountains the flow of the Vaal River could be increased by 75 million gallons a day at one stroke. The construction of two more dams in the Maluti heights would give South Africa a supply of water sufficient to meet the requirements of the Rand at its present rate of growth for over a hundred years. The building of a dam at the Seforong gorge in Lesotho would be an even bigger undertaking which would solve the problems of the North West Cape at comparatively little cost. These schemes besides revolutionizing Lesotho's agriculture could also serve as the basis for industrialization. But more vitally from South Africa's point of view they would solve that country's problems. A report on the Ox-Bow Scheme alone states that the Rand Water Board could be supplied with up to 145 million gallons a day and a possible 400 million kilowatt hours of electricity every year. Estimates of the cost of constructing Ox-Bow Lake Scheme range from R24 million to R60 million (*Star*, February 28th, 1966). The cost of the water would be about five cents per thousand gallons. This would be compared with the South African government Orange project of R450 million and whose water will cost six times as much.

Thus the Ox Bow project would not only be of tremendous value to Lesotho, it would also be a priceless asset for South Africa considered as a geographic region; and help to alleviate the curse of water scarcity which always depresses living standards and development and periodically faces hundreds of thousands with famine. On straightforward economic grounds it is infinitely preferable to the far more expensive (so much so that in fact it has been shelved) and impractical Pretoria 'Orange River Scheme'. Moreover the Orange River project of Pretoria is grossly inequitable in terms of international law and procedure concerning waterways which cross frontiers—always a potential source of strife. It proposes to drain off 97 per cent of the waters arising in the mountains of Lesotho; leaving only 3 per cent for

the Basotho themselves in whose country they have their source. Such an arrangement could never be acceptable to any genuinely independent and patriotic administration in Maseru.

NEGOTIATE—OR SWINDLE

At first the British imperialists and the White minority government have sought to give the impression that South Africa does not need water and certainly not from Lesotho. Alternatively it was suggested that long investigations were required to establish the 'feasibility' of the Ox-Bow Lake Scheme. So far there have been several of these so-called investigations and a 'final' one has just been launched which will cost the Lesotho government R300,000, quite unnecessarily. This is part of the political aim of trying to deceive the people of Lesotho as to the value of their tremendous water resources. The South African government itself has studiously refrained from making any public pronouncements on the possibility of utilizing Lesotho's water resources. The image that Lesotho and other African ruled countries neighbouring on South Africa are 'dependent' on her is being desperately clung to for economic and political reasons.

But as the pretence that South Africa does not need Lesotho's water wears thin, a new approach can be expected. South Africa hopes to enter into negotiations with a weak stooge government such as that of Leabua Jonathan with the object of winning control of Lesotho's water resources by guile, cunning, and bribery. A vital aspect of this would be to ensure that the installations become a joint asset jointly owned by South Africa and Lesotho. The installations would, of course, be situated on the South African side of the border. There is evidence that Leabua is willing to negotiate on these lines. Hence the bitter conflicts that have developed between the Lesotho Premier and the Head of State whose signature would be required for any agreement to be valid. The moment is one of very great danger for Lesotho, because South Africa will use any pressure and any pretext to gain control of the new state's water.

The desperate need of South Africa for water and power and the possession by Lesotho of great water resources could form the basis of mutual trade for the benefit of both countries. But only if Lesotho exercises its independence fully, does not play stooge to white supremacists, or allow itself to be bought off or cheated. Drought and water are very serious politics in Southern Africa.

BRAM FISCHER'S GREAT SPEECH

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

BRAM FISCHER, WHOM it is my privilege to know and to reverence, is one of the truly great political lawyers in history. He could have been, and in a country ruled on honest and humane principles he would have been, just a very good advocate, conducting cases for all sorts of people and living a comfortable intellectual life in Johannesburg. But he combined a strong sense of social duty with clear political judgment, and he was a citizen and a resident of the Union of South Africa, a country misruled by a ruthless group of racists who denied to the non-White population all elementary human rights.

In such a position, where many "good" advocates—good in that they were skilled in their profession, irrespective of social conscience—find it possible to take the easy road of not seeing the injustices around them, Bram Fischer displayed the qualities that have made him one of the most splendid of living men. His cold, unbreakable, twenty-four-hours-a-day courage, his complete integrity, and his readiness to accept and endure endless hardship and suffering in support of what he knew to be right, have led him triumphantly through one test after another, including eleven months "underground", never knowing at what moment "the law" would catch up with him, and now a sentence of life imprisonment. That is not, of course, the final stage of his life's work, for we are all confident that long before his life ends he will be free again, working for his principles in a happier world.

His last public act to date, and one of his greatest, was his speech from the dock in the Supreme Court at Pretoria on March 28th, 1966, now published in pamphlet form by Mayibue Publications. He who conducted so many cases so well for other political accused—and won so many acquittals (a rare event in political trials)—now had the opportunity to speak in his own defence. (This rarely comes the way of political defenders; Georgi Dimitrov had it at Leipzig thirty-three years ago, but he was not a lawyer. The two speeches, by Dimitrov and by Bram Fischer, should be studied by everyone who aspires to be a good political defender. I will not try to compare the one with the other, for they were delivered in very different conditions; I will just say that they were both perfect, both imperishable classics.)

Bram Fischer's speech was, of course, addressed to the world rather than to the Court; but it was addressed to the Court, too, and

for all the studious moderation of the language it must have made the judges writhe in their seats as they listened.

The speech, one can see, must have taken many hours of preparation; every word is carefully weighed, and we get many interesting glimpses of Fischer's personal and political history, problems and development. But even more valuable are the lessons it carries for all of us. Let us study what it tells us:

Why and in what circumstances those who suffer intolerable injustice and misrule can rightly—and indeed must—resort to violence;

How fully experience demonstrates the genuine equality and the equal capacity of human beings of all races and colours;

How hopeless and dangerous a future the White racists in the Union are creating for themselves;

How clearly impossible it is for the present regime to maintain its cruel and bitter colonialism when almost all the rest of the world has passed out of the colonialist period, and its actual total end is in sight;

Why Marxism is the only reliable guide for political development (this lesson being reinforced by some good Marxist analysis of history);

What Communists have done and are doing for their own countries, and how peace and justice in the future depend on the strength of the Communist Parties;

What terrible cruelties are inflicted on the victims of solitary confinement and prolonged interrogation; and how unreliable evidence is that is extracted by those cruel methods;

And why the practical immediate objective for the people of South Africa is not the immediate establishment of a Socialist state but the institution of national democratic rule.

I could write at almost any length in praise of Bram Fischer and of what he has achieved, but I will do better just to conclude with a quotation from one passage of his wonderful speech:

"It was to keep faith with all those dispossessed by apartheid that I broke my undertaking to the Court, separated myself from my family, pretended I was someone else, and accepted the life of a fugitive. I owed it to the political prisoners, to the banished, to the silenced and those under house arrest, not to remain a spectator, but to act. I knew what they expected of me and I did it. I felt responsible, not to those who are indifferent to the sufferings of others, but to those who are concerned. I know that by valuing

above all their judgment, I would be condemned by people who are content to see themselves as respectable and loyal citizens. I cannot regret any condemnation that may follow me."

The speech referred to by Mr. Pritt is published as a pamphlet *What I did was right*. It is available from Central Books, London, or from THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST **at 1s. per copy, plus postage.**

Phases of the EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

Khaled Mohei El-Din

THE REVOLUTION OF July 23rd, 1952, was not a matter of chance; it was the logical consummation of the liberation process which could not find any other outlet. In October 1951 the popular forces secured the repeal of the shameful 1936 Treaty with Britain. Guerilla actions in the Canal Zone grew into a popular armed movement, ready to grow over into a nation-wide, anti-imperialist struggle. The people mustered all their forces to achieve victory over imperialism.

The rulers never realized how deeply rooted the movement was. Consequently, they lagged behind, leaving the masses to a process of spontaneous development, at times even trying—without success—to stem their advance.

The masses forged ahead, calling for the abdication of the King and for a break with Britain. Yet the movement lacked real political leadership. Even the Lefts, taken by surprise, were unable to harness the wave, since at that time they were victims of police persecution, and also lacked experience of armed struggle. The inevitable result was the provocation in Cairo instigated and organized by reactionary elements and imperialism for purely reactionary ends.

Martial law was proclaimed, and was used to facilitate the arrest of progressives, nationalists and guerilla elements. The traditional rulers proved incapable of offering a solution that would satisfy the national aspirations. The moderates were scared and practically lost their bearings. Governments followed one another in quick succession.

In this situation the army emerged as the only national force which had not yet been hit. Its ranks were seething with revolution. The nationalist movement which swept the country found an echo among the army officers. The efforts of the reactionaries to use the army as a tool of direct suppression, against demonstrations and strikes, created direct contact between the army and the political events and gave the younger officers a feeling of real power. It also posed the vital question: why shouldn't this power become a weapon in the hands of the people and against the enemies of the people?

The army movement was the decisive answer to this question. It was

also the anticipated action and a direct result of the pre-revolutionary political crisis. It was such a natural reaction that none of the political forces opposed it.

The revolution took place only to find that the masses had lost confidence in the traditional leaders and in all constitutional and party formations.

It also discovered a void, no programmes, no clear-cut demands, no organized movement reflecting the real will of the masses. Immediately the revolution adopted a motto which had no social content but which could be accepted by all trends: unity, order and work.

The leaders of the revolution represented by a group of young officers possessed two specific features: firstly, profound faith in the cause of national independence coupled with a deep hatred for imperialism, the Palace and their agents and, second, independence from all other political forces and organizations and their resolve to safeguard this independence.

It was natural that this group should be surprised by the void, and should feel a disappointment which found expression in President Nasser's book *The Philosophy of the Revolution.*

> The leaders had accomplished their mission. They stormed the strongholds of oppression, dethroned the despot and stood awaiting the holy march in close orderly ranks to the great goal.
> They waited long, however. The masses did come. But how different is fiction from facts.
> The masses did come. But they came struggling in scattered groups. The Holy March to the Great Goal was halted, and the picture in those days looked dark, dastardly and foreboding.
> It was then that I realized with an embittered heart torn with grief that the vanguard's mission did not end at that hour, it had just begun.

The leaders of the revolution began to equip themselves to carry on with the government until they could translate their hopes and those of the masses into a crystallized idea and a defined programme.

Since the group was independent and unattached to any other political grouping, and because it came to power without any preliminaries, it began to develop its ideas and executive programmes through two channels:

(1) Legislation.

(2) An effort to approach the people through an organized political action independent of any previous trends.

THREE PHASES

All through its phases, the revolution moved through these two channels in a sincere and realistic fashion which was an expression of

the growth of consciousness among the leaders. It was also an expression of the relationship with the social consciousness and world events.

It is my belief that the revolution has passed through three phases:

First: The realization of national independence, 1952-56.

Second: The assurance of independence, the eradication of the last vestiges of imperialism and the initiation of economic development, 1956-1961.

Third: The phase of socialist conversion.

But before explaining these three phases let me say that no hard and fast divisions separated them. From the scientific point of view these divisions could not exist. All three were intermingled and telescoped; indeed the seeds of one phase could be sown in the previous one.

First Phase:

Its aims can be summed up as follows:

(1) To rally all the popular forces to achieve independence.

(2) To strike against reaction and the traditional politicans colaborating with imperialism and to abolish their influence, especially in the countryside.

(3) To create a settled climate for the new rule, to improve the economic situation and to introduce reforms designed to influence the masses into giving more attention to the political battle against imperialism.

The national goal was the basis for all the action that took place during this phase. The Revolution took certain concrete steps: it solved the problem of the Sudan which had always been an obstacle in the way of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations. It did so by offering a solution which was the beginning of a series of realistic steps designed first and foremost to solve the national question.

The negotiations with the British encountered difficulties, since the leaders of the Revolution were opposed to the principle of joint defence pacts and insisted on genuine independence. To express their intention to carry out their national aims and to exert pressure at the negotiating table the leaders of the Revolution organized armed guerilla action in the occupation zones.

During this period the government was exercising its legislative authority on behalf of the people. It started by striking at the political forces siding with imperialism. A few days after the Revolution laws were enacted abolishing ranks and titles (August 1952), introducing Land Reform (September 1952), setting up the Ghadr Courts (January 1953) and the Revolutionary Court, etc.

These laws aimed at undermining the political and social influence of a certain class, namely the big landlords who were at the same time the traditional politicians. The Revolution deprived the class of all its weapons—the land, the political parties and its prestige. It put them on trial and found them guilty of corruption, graft and squandering the people's wealth. This was a public condemnation of an entire class.

The Land Reform Law had, perhaps, affected the people and at the same time the destinies of the Revolution more than anything else. It liberated the peasants and transformed them into a political power on the side of the Revolution. It also liberated them economically and made them consumers in possession of purchasing power.

Indeed from the first day it was promulgated, the law presented a definite position. Agrarian Reform Laws in other countries had been used as a democratic weapon against feudalism. The weapon might have been a bourgeois one in the struggle against feudalism. In Egypt, however, where land ownership had always been a symbol of royalty, of power and control, the big landlords were also industrial tycoons. In fact, many shareholders used part of their profits to purchase land that would bring them both extra profit and power. Thus the groups were affected by the Agrarian Reform Law were, in one way or another, capitalists and investors. Abboud, Serag Ed-Din, Khashaba, Abdel-Maksoud Ahmed and Al-Shamsi were both big landlords and capitalists. This may explain the attitude of the industrial capitalists to the revolution and its achievements, even such steps as would encourage industry.

Industrialization was part of the independence struggle.

Hence the Revolution took steps towards strengthening and protecting existing industries and building new branches. In this respect a number of laws followed: higher customs duties on articles made abroad, coupled with a decrease in the duty for means of production, engineering equipment and other industrial requirements. It also encouraged the direction of savings towards industrial investment, and the exemption of new companies from taxation for seven years (Law No. 43, 1953) as well as a five-year exemption for new investments in industry.

To encourage the small saver to participate in the industrial development, shares were floated at £2 instead of £4.

All these measures aimed at strengthening the national economy so that it could survive the battle of independence. It is clear that these were traditional measures, within the old economic framework, which aimed simply at reviving the economy of the country. The main goal at the time was development, and to encourage private capital to take

part in it. A number of laws facilitating the import of foreign capital were passed in this period.

This, however, did not mean that the leaders of the Revolution believed in the capitalist pattern. One can say that the policy was two-pronged: to encourage national capital and at the same time to deprive it of political control.

The National Production Council was the first step taken by the government to organize production. Its efforts, however, were at first devoted to a study of plans and the preparation of research and study necessary for the development of private investment. The Council also worked out the first four-year-plan for government investment, which could be regarded as the basis of future planning.

State intervention came again when a law was issued setting an age limit of sixty for board members. This meant the exclusion of the traditional members to be replaced by more revolutionary ones.

Another law stipulated that no person could be a board member of more than six companies, then another law restricted remuneration of board members to 10 per cent of total profits, after the distribution of 5 per cent to shareholders.

The Revolution went beyond the mere organization of companies to take some measures of a social significance. These measures undoubtedly reflected the feelings and aspirations of the revolutionary leaders, although not yet formulated in a definite programme.

In August 1952, a law was promulgated increasing gradual taxation on high incomes. Then came another law introducing gradual taxation on legacies. In contrast a law was issued exempting small holders from taxation.

Although these laws reflected the belief of the Revolution in social reform, they were all confined within the framework of the old society, preserving its essence.

This was reflected in political action. The leaders of the Revolution felt the need to come out into the sphere of mass action. Under pressure of a rapid succession of events—dissolution of political parties, conflict with certain traditional political leaders and the declaration of a state of emergency—and in the absence of a clear line of social and political action the Liberation Rally was formed. Its national aims and programme were devoid of any fixed social content. The slogan "We are all in the Liberation Rally" reflected a real desire to unite in one organization all forces of the nation regardless of their contradictions.

The Liberation Rally was not a revolutionary party. It was simply the realignment of all the existing forces regardless of their contradictions and problems. Although the traditional leadership was excluded

from the Rally, many members of the old parties joined it. Many of the middle bourgeoisie—traders, businessmen, rich peasants, a part of the intellectuals who had no opportunity in the old parties—joined in the hope that they would have a chance in the Liberation Rally.

The failure to transform the Rally into a real party of the Revolution was, in itself, a manifestation of the absence of a clear intellectual line for political action. This may also explain the concentration on legislative and executive measures.

In fact the Liberation Rally was not able to strike root among the masses. When the tripartite aggression took place the Rally doomed itself to extinction when it failed to lead the masses against the invaders. Thus the initiative from below took the new form of committees for popular resistance.

During that period the Revolution was able to achieve a number of things which acted as landmarks for the next phase: the concentrated attack against the Baghdad Pact and imperialist pacts in general, Egypt's important role at Bandung, the Soviet arms deal which broke the imperialist monopoly of arms and dispelled the myth of a Soviet threat, and, of course, recognition of People's China.

Second Phase:

This phase began with the publication of the January 1956 Constitution which, in my opinion, was an effort to evolve a programme for the Revolution and to crystallize it into definite concepts. Among other things it stressed that:

—social solidarity is the basis of the Egyptian society;

—national economy should be organized in accordance with plans which safeguard social justice and aim at expanding production and raising the standard of living;

—capital to be used on behalf of the national economy and should not clash in its use with the public interest;

—the Law guarantees co-operation in the sphere of public economic activities and promotes business activities.

—the state shall supervise the organization of insurance.

When the imperialists tried to delay the development plan by their refusal to finance the High Dam, the effective reply came which was a true expression of the revolutionary leadership's determination to carry out the plan. The nationalization of the Suez Canal Company was the first blow against foreign monopolies not only in the Middle East but in newly independent countries. Although the nationalization was the result of a political reaction, yet it became, internally, a policy which aimed at abolishing the economic positions of imperialism, especially British and French.

The revolutionary wave which resulted from the nationalization swept the Arab world and opened the doors for all Arab revolutionaries to rally around President Nasser who became the leader of the Arab revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The battle for national independence provided a base for the public sector. The state controlled the banks, insurance companies, British and French economic institutions. If imperialism used its control over banks and insurance companies as a means to control the national economy, the 'Egyptianization' of these institutions enabled the government to exercise full control over the entire economic machinery.

Following the aggression Egypt felt that to ensure the carrying through of its internal policy it had to stand up to imperialist influence in the Arab East as a whole. It thus began to exercise an effective role in inter-Arab relationships and the question of Arab unity began to assume an important place in our policy. This, while it had many advantages, left a certain imprint on the social content of the Revolution at a time when it lacked complete clarity. It pushed Egypt into taking more moderate ways in dealing with questions of social evolution in order not to widen the gap between the different social systems in the Arab countries.

In short, one can say that the need for Arab unity among systems that were socially unequal was imposing itself on thought, tendencies and politics, foreign and domestic alike. It was reflected also in the repeated talk about the need to unite the ranks, and to forget the contradictions, the hatred and the past. These ideas were echoed in the formation of the National Union which decided to exclude the extreme right and the extreme left. It had to unite all other forces under slogans denouncing class struggle and class hatred.

On July 22nd, 1959, President Nasser formulated the policy thus:

> The National Union is the meanst hrough which we can realize a socialist, democratic, co-operative society, and by which we can protect our goals in establishing this society. We can also achieve our development without a civil war, without killing, not by class war, but by love and brotherhood.

This line of thought was also reflected in the economic field. The state, having increased its potential and control, urged private capital to partake in the development. It sought to control the direction of investment, and to submit private capital to the requirements of the general plan, without hindering its development.

President Nasser laid down the principle of these relations on a definite basis. In the same speech on July 22nd, 1959, he announced:

> Under our socialist and co-operative system we regard the state as a patron of everything, private as well as public ownership. The state is responsible

for the protection of the individual against anyone who wants to exploit him. The state is responsible for protection against economic and social exploitation. I believe that we should give freedom to private capital, at the same time balancing it with public capital which is the state sector, thus preventing it from exercising any control over the government. I must protect the consumer, and at the same time find income for the owner of capital.

This phase saw the emergence of the public sector in the sphere of investment, and the establishment in January 1957 of the Economic Organization as state agency for directing all Government investment, and for drawing up new plans. It also acted as its agent for the enforcement of a development plan on private enterprise. A Planning Committee was entrusted with the task of drawing up a long-term development plan and of mobilizing all private and public effort for the realization of a serious and comprehensive plan for raising the country's economic power.

Industrialization was still a slogan. The state expressed its interest in it in many ways, in political speeches and in legislation. But the best expression of this interest was participation by the state in the plan to the extent of 61 per cent of the budget, as well as its concentrated attention on heavy industry, leaving light industry to the private sector or other companies.

CAPITALIST OPPOSITION

Yet private capital was still reluctant to participate. This reluctance threatened the development plan, and impelled the government to exercise more intervention in industry and to strengthen its hold on it. Legislation was enacted aimed against private capital, blocking its way and keeping it within the framework of the industrialization plan. New legislation was issued to hinder its mad rush to transform its savings into property and building. But all was in vain. In the face of this the government had to resort to drastic measures. The research undertaken by the Planning Committee on the resources available for development proved that family savings did not exceed 10-15 per cent of all savings. The government tried hard to get the private sector to invest its profits to help the development plan, but with no appreciable results. At long last and after a great deal of persuasion, the government had to issue in 1959 a law putting a ceiling for profits which prohibited distribution of any profits over 10 per cent of the 1958 profits.

The truth is that the capitalists regarded the plan for doubling income over ten years as too ambitions and exaggerated. They also believed that should it be carried out it would be at the expense of their non-

distributed profits. This is why they resisted the law, and voiced their doubts about the success of the plan, insisting on non-participation. Moreover, they began to wage a war against the plan and against what they called 'sacrificing this generation for the future generation'.

At that time revolutionary thinking was at the cross-roads. The capitalists availed themselves of this opportunity to turn the Revolution away from its course and used the political situation to create an economic atmosphere more favourable for them.

But the revolutionary leaders took a decisive stand which came to be a basic landmark on the future road of the Revolution. They refused to give in to the pressure of the capitalists, and instead took vigorous action against those who opposed the development plan. By this time an agreement was reached with the Soviet Union for financing the second stage of the High Dam. This was followed by a blow against the capitalist positions, indeed against all capitalist tendencies, ideas and values, namely, the nationalization of the Misr Bank, the National Bank and the press.

Thus the real course of the Revolution was charted in no uncertain terms.

As a result capital became more reluctant to take part in the development plan. This necessitated more control, until gradually the development plan was transformed from a mere national struggle into a battle with a social content; its features were clearly drawn in the July 1961 socialist measures.

Both the organizational work and the political thinking moved side by side with economic development. The National Union began its work to unite the ranks of the people in order to guarantee the success of the development plan. The President explained this in his speech in Beni Suef on November 14th, 1958:

> The National Union is a Union which groups all forces, the sons of one Arab nation, no deviation towards the right or the left, no division or haggling between us.

The main aim of this phase was to establish a political organization which would include all moderates in Egypt and in the Arab world. The slogan of co-operative, democratic socialism was raised and for a certain time the state put much emphasis on the idea of co-operation. In an interview with Karanjia, an Indian journalist, on July 17th, 1959, Nasser said:

> We intend to make co-operative agrarian societies the basis of democracy on which the National Union depends.

Co-operative conferences followed in succession, receiving every

(Continued on page 48)

Portuguese Soldier Re

Translation of a leaflet in Portuguese, issued by FRELIMO *to members of th*

Portuguese soldier, return to your country! We don't want to kill you, we are not your enemies. But you are our enemy, you are killing our people. Return to your country, Portuguese soldier. You must go, or Frelimo Guerillas will kill you.

Far away, in your home, are your parents, your brothers, your wife, your children. You will never see them again. You will die here, in an ambush, without glory, as hundreds of your comrades have already died.

Portuguese soldier, you do not fight for the 'defence of the country'. Your country is

turn to Your Country

e Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique.

Portugal, not Mozambique. You are defending the interests of the rich. They stay in Lisbon as big bosses, full of money, and send you to die in the bush. You will die to defend the riches that the capitalists have in Mozambique.
You yourself are also deceived and exploited, Portuguese soldier!

Refuse to fight in this unjust war.
Save your life, save your honour while it is time.
Return to your country, Portuguese soldier.
Return to your country.

(Continued from page 45)
possible help from the state and from President Nasser personally.

True, by that time the concept of socialism was still not clear, not in the sense of control by the people of the main means of production. But it was gradually emerging along with the growing need to make the plan a success, and in view of the reluctance of the capitalists to participate in it.

The government realized that, given half a chance, the capitalist class would certainly reap big profits. In the official development plan the estimate of the national income in 1959 was £E1,282 million, £E570 million in salaries and wages, that is 44 per cent, while the returns from property ownership (profit, interest, rent) were to be 56 per cent, that is £E712 million. Wages here are the aggregate of wages for workers and employees in all sectors including cash payments, insurance, savings, overtime and social services.

The development plan aimed at increasing the national income by 1964-1965 to £E1,795 million with 42 per cent (£E759 million) in wages and 58 per cent (£E1,036 million) in returns from property ownership.

Official statistics show that in the domain of agricultural ownership between 1952-1957, individual ownership above 20 acres increased by 162,000 acres, that is 10 per cent of their previous ownership.

This development constituted a real danger to the course of the Revolution, especially since the rich, whether they were in the agricultural or industrial sectors, continued to boycott the plan. In this way the Revolution was forced to take some concrete and decisive steps to define the inevitable course as well as its form and content.

CLASS STRUGGLE

A search for a well-defined course began in an atmosphere of class struggle. As time went on experience of both the successes and the failures was accumulating among the leaders and the people. The urgent need arose for a sober study which would lead to the elaboration of definite theoretical concepts.

It was only natural that capitalists and intellectuals with capitalist tendencies should try to impose certain theoretical concepts coinciding with their way of thinking. While the Revolution refused to yield to their influence, it was, at the same time, aware of the mass pressure and of the genuine need to work out a theoretical programme which would lay down clear principles for the political, economic and social development. What was needed was a theory which would confirm the path chosen by the Revolution.

The advanced intellectuals were asked to evolve such concepts, and all through that period a search continued for a theory. But the com-

position of the National Union and the separation between the Revolution on the one hand and the moderate intellectuals on the other, together with the rigid isolation forced on the Left, made it impossible to arrive at a theoretical platform which would meet both the hopes of the leaders and the desires of the masses.

Under these circumstances President Nasser had to undertake this responsibility. Being in close contact with the objective development of the Revolution, and thanks to his non-aligned contact with international experience and constant changes in socialist thought and programmes, Nasser was able to enunciate a number of definite theoretical formulations.

It was impossible to realize the development plan without an almost complete control of capital investments in the state sector. There was no other way save nationalization and the imposition of people's control, bringing in the working masses to take part in the process of construction.

Thus President Nasser became convinced both from the practical and theoretical points of view that it was not possible to follow the capitalist path, and that the development plan could be carried out only through a socialist solution. He announced to the people that the socialist solution of the problem was inevitable, defining in this way the content of his theoretical views and the political and economic activity that this implied.

The monopolization by the Revolution leaders of political activity and the systematic and continual blows directed against private ownership helped to weaken all forces opposed to socialism. President Nasser stressed in the Charter of National Action that class struggle is inevitable and cannot be ignored; the peaceful solution of this struggle cannot be guaranteed unless the reactionaries—the alliance of capital and feudalism —are deprived of their economic and political weapons.

Thus the July socialist laws came into being.

Third Phase:

Thus the Revolution passed through an important phase by realizing and establishing genuine independence and beginning the process of economic development and agrarian reform. It was able to build up a situation which accepted scientific socialism as a programme of thought and economic and political action.

The nationalization of most if not all industrial and commercial institutions and public enterprises and the successive sequestrations of big properties were a real development of the political content of the Revolution.

If the social content of the Revolution developed by successive stages, these decisive economic measures were a qualitative change which determined firmly and clearly the consistent further development of the Revolution. Thus the features of the third phase emerged.

The Revolution is advancing towards socialism, and is now presenting a theory which is both conscious and committed to the scientific socialist programme. It frankly declares its hostility to the capitalist way of development, both it and exploiting capital are condemned in the Charter. This was followed by isolating a number of elements by subjecting them to measures of nationalization and sequestration. The 'isolation' laws were issued and there was a sort of cleansing process in the field of political activity. Some people who in the previous phase held important positions and made use of the available opportunities for influencing the political life of the country were eclipsed.

Now the class struggle became crystallized. The enemy camp was clearly defined, and was joined by a number of people who went along with the Revolution in the hope that by so doing they could halt its progress. It was also joined by conservative elements who thought that the socialist slogans were simply designed for 'the consumers', and that they signified nothing more than formal changes in the existing facade.

It was essential at this stage that the Revolution should activate the camp of its friends. It proclaimed itself as representing the masses of workers, peasants and all working people. It was inevitable, too, that socialism be translated into concrete gains for the workers. A series of measures followed: 25 per cent of profit for workers to bring about a balance in the distribution of income between wages and returns on property. The workers became eligible for board membership and a 50 per cent representation is guaranteed for workers and peasants in all popular councils and parliament. The basis of local government is laid down as a form of democratic rule. A minimum wage was also fixed, and so on.

In agriculture the second Agrarian Reform Law emerged, realizing yet another revolution which led the masses of workers and peasants to have confidence in socialism and to try to protect the gains of the Revolution. More measures were taken: enterprises which the private sector shared with the state now became the property of the state; the capitalists who escaped nationalization in 1961 became subject to nationalization and sequestration.

In 1963 a maximum of £E15,000 was fixed for compensation payable to shareholders, thus putting a limit to the possibilities of enrichment.

This new situation offered a glowing picture, and socialism became

the test to prove who are the enemies of the Revolution and who are its friends.

All this is reflected in the Charter, which defines the features and aims of the Revolution and gives it its scientific theory. The Charter was formulated scientifically on the basis of an objective analysis of the Arab reality, its revolutionary potential and its ability to launch the battle for national reconstruction.

The Charter, moreover, is not an immutable formula. It recognizes the inevitability of change, of its being changed as a political document and a programme of action, if the objective circumstances of the Revolution dictate such a change. The Charter fixes 1970 as a date for the resumption of a discussion to evolve a new formula which would suit the circumstances.

SOCIALISM THE ONLY WAY

One of the most effective passages in the Charter underlines that:

> the socialist solution of economic and social underdevelopment in Egypt and the revolutionary approach to progress was not a hypothesis based on free choice; the socialist solution was a historic inevitability imposed by reality and by the hopes of the masses as well as the changing nature of the world in the second half of the twentieth century.

It also confirms that scientific socialism is the suitable formula for the correct programme of progress.

Thus there was a comprehensive change in values; the rich were trying to denounce their prosperity and to be regarded as workers and peasants. Many workers and peasants were able to reach important posts in the Socialist Union. At the same time the isolation of all those affected by the socialist measures meant isolation of a class nature.

Following this came the release of the political Left from camps and prisons and an effort to absorb them in the Revolution. While the work on the development plan experienced great difficulties, it was accompanied by one of the greatest rates of development in newly independent countries—which average 6 per cent to 7.1 per cent of the annual national income.

Many industrial and agricultural enterprises were established, and state investment reached 94 per cent of the total. The first stage of the High Dam was completed.

In the midst of this the elections to the General Assembly were held. The rich and representatives of the exploiting classes began to play up to the workers and the peasants. That in itself was symptomatic of the basic change in outlook which resulted from the July 1961 measures.

The nature of the gradual and peaceful advance of the Revolution caused many slogans to change at one or another stage, including the slogan calling for 50 per cent representation of workers and peasants in the National Assembly. Slogans come up and are hailed by both friends and enemies, but some try to make use of these slogans to suit their own purposes, regarding them as simply a placard without application. Despite these errors, the slogans manage to dig deep and establish themselves in the masses, until eventually they become a reality. This is exactly what happened with the slogan of 'socialism'. For many years the leadership of the Revolution raised this slogan. For many years the rich elements in society tolerated it in the hope that they would be able to bring it down to a mere placard without content. But gradually the slogan took root among the masses until its application became inevitable. Socialism has now become a cause in which the masses believe and which they are ready to defend.

As regards the slogan of 50 per cent worker-peasant representation in the National Assembly, the definition which put directors of even big companies in the category of worker and the owner of up to twenty-five acres (this is a relatively big area in Egypt, especially in view of the rising prices of agricultural produce) in the category of peasant allowed seats intended for workers and peasants to go to the middle groups. Moreover, if one bears in mind that the remaining 50 per cent of the seats in the National Assembly are meant for the middle groups, it becomes clear that the class composition of the legislature has changed in favour of the latter.

It was not the National Assembly alone which suffered from this composition. Lower and medium-level organizations of the Socialist Union also suffered, since the elections brought to them representatives of the very same middle groups—the heads of enterprises and of institutions forming basic units of the Socialist Union, traders and professional people. In the villages some old elements managed to infiltrate into important posts. Nobody can be held responsible for this.

Any class can lose its economic influence as a result of a quick blow. Its social weight and its relations persist for a longer time, until it is replaced by another class. Carrying this out through elections is not an easy thing, nor can it be achieved overnight, especially in the countryside where family ties and influence are still strong.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS

The other thing to be taken into consideration is that the main enemy had already been hit with the complete exclusion of feudalists and big

capitalists from the field of political action. When we talk about the existence of a middle class such as rich peasants, top-ranking employees, medium and rich traders, this does not at all mean that we object to them. We merely underscore the importance of modifying the class structure of our mass and legislative machinery not by excluding these elements, but by giving the workers and the peasants more weight. The process of winning the middle class to the side of the socialist Revolution will require both time and energy.

At the same time we must distinguish between those productive middle groups which play a positive role in increasing production, such as those practising agriculture, and parasites who play no part in the production process while they accumulate wealth by sponging on the public sector and through black marketeering and evasion of the laws. The difference between the two is not simply moral, it is the difference which distinguishes between the producer elements which must be encouraged and the parasites who must be rooted out.

One important thing should be borne in mind, namely, that the representatives of the middle groups are not alone in the mass or legislative bodies; there have been gains for peasants and workers who have advanced some excellent people to important places, thus laying the basis for the realization of the slogan of socialism. At the same time they were able to present a unique example to the Arab and Middle East countries where the peasants and workers have not yet reached such positions in society.

In any case the setting up of the National Assembly and other institutions of the Socialist Union, together with the constitutional stability which followed the establishment of the Assembly and its legislative power and control, demand that the government should not lose sight of the class structure of the Assembly and institutions of the Socialist Union.

A similar situation has arisen in the economic sphere. While the state has given the workers and peasants impressive gains through the years of the first plan (higher wages, guaranteed employment, social insurance, pensions, free medical treatment, a minimum wage, etc.), the part played by the middle class necessitated granting them some gains as well. It also compelled the state to reduce to the minimum the losses the middle sections incurred as a result of the execution of the plan. In this way the plan became something that guaranteed a succession of gains, and a steady increase in incomes and standard of living. This changed almost completely the conditions of the middle class, and increased their ambitions and requirements. It was inevitable that all this should find expression also in the sphere of ideology.

Some of the middle groups made use of the inability of the public sector sometimes to meet their requirements or to find the needed specialists or managers. This led to the emergence of new social groups —contractors, suppliers, etc. These groups were able to gain social weight as a result of their growing wealth. They are trying to create difficulties in the public sector and to turn it, through bribery, into a source for their own profit alone. When we add to this the rising prices of agricultural products generally, we realize that conditions are ripe for the emergence of excessively rich groups in both town and country.

True, the accumulation of wealth does not constitute any direct threat to socialism, since the laws are there to stop the transformation of any cash accumulation into capitalist accumulation to be used for building private enterprises and therefore for capitalist exploitation.

Yet these rich groups, whose wealth is continuously growing, have actually begun to resist the building of socialism. The richer they become the more violent will be their hostility to socialism.

ANTI-COMMUNISM

This has led to the sharpening of the class struggle. The old reactionaries pluck up courage and together with the new class of the wealthy form a united front opposed to progress. In their struggle they make use of various slogans, such as anti-communism, accusing any left tendency of communism. They also try to describe any forward movement as a transgression of 'Arab Socialism'.

But the picture is not so dark.

First, it should be noticed that no-one has dared or will ever dare to belittle socialism as a slogan and as a belief accepted by the people. Thus, the intrigues of these groups will be carried out within the framework of the principles of socialism; they dare not attack it directly. Socialism has now become a national cause for Egypt, the citadel of its national independence. Secondly, our economy is characterized by a basic advantage which gives it the ability to survive and rid itself of all parasites. This advantage is that it has once and for all got rid of all foreign control.

Even more important is the fact that the leadership of the Revolution is in reliable hands. It has won the love and respect of the people as well as the ability to direct the decisive blow at the right time.

The leadership is working hard to create a capable machinery for the right solution of urgent problems. It is working to create a political organization, a party machinery, more integrated, more flexible and

understanding the problems of the people, studying them and finding the right solutions.

In fact the formation of a political organization of this kind has become an urgent question. The Socialist Union with its six million members is not yet a party machine in the true sense of the word. The need is felt for a narrow political machinery that would encompass well-trained and cultured cadres, capable of rallying and leading the people and comprehending their problems.

Fulfilment of the second five-year plan requires the enthusiasm of the people and their deep conviction of the need for sacrifice.

It has been proved that the law alone is not enough to protect the public sector from parasites and corrupt elements. The law alone can never put an end to the black market. The answer is an effective popular control.

The political organization is capable of solving the task of rallying the people to fulfil the plan and to abolish the corrupt and parasitic elements. If one of our main problems is the shortage of technical and administrative cadres loyal to socialism, the political organization is capable of giving the Revolution technical cadres of the required standard drawn from among the people.

The political organization is, therefore, one of the most important questions facing the Revolution. Its solution will, no doubt, enable us to make the next step towards getting rid of all obstacles in the way of the Revolution.

FUTURE TASKS

Such a step can take the following directions:

(1) To take revolutionary measures needed to stem the rush of the parasites to enrich themselves at the expense of the people or the public sector. To close all the loopholes which allow for such accumulation, at the same time directing certain measures against groups such as contractors and wholesale traders. No doubt, these measures will not be directed only against one group alone; they will extend to other groups hostile to the Revolution, and these will again be compelled to withdraw from the arena of public life.

These measures will also awaken the revolutionary spirit of the people, and rally them for the defence of the Revolution.

(2) To work for the consolidation of the unity of the socialist forces, in the ranks of the political organization and to make the class structure of this organization lean more towards the workers and peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals.

(3) To raise the level of ideological work and information with a view to eradicating old concepts and developing new values.

(4) To shake up anew the machinery of State, with the aim of excluding from important posts all elements hostile to socialism.

(5) To cut prices of some essential goods and thus ease the burden on the masses.

(6) If the gap between incomes is widening, then the slogan of eradicating class distinctions should resound with redoubled force, and the battle for its implementation should be fought on both the intellectual and practical levels.

(7) To unite all the revolutionary Arab forces in a single front capable of facing up to imperialism and home reaction and of forming the beginning of a new revolutionary wave that will sweep Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In this way the Egyptian Revolution can clear its path in the face of any local or international obstacles, thus expressing the will and hopes of our people, as well as all Arab and African peoples. The Egyptian Revolution is not Egypt's alone. It belongs to humanity, which looks upon the unique experiment of Egypt with faith and respect.

Nor does it belong to this generation alone. It is the sum total of dreams and hopes of all past revolutionaries and those of the future. It is a heritage not only of the Egyptian people, but of all the peoples who have won the battle for independence and are looking for a new path.

In this light we can define our responsibility for decisive action to protect and advance this Revolution. The protection of the Egyptian Revolution and its advance towards socialism is the task of all progressives in Egypt and in the Arab world. It is indeed the task of all progressive and revolutionary forces throughout the world.

Postscript:

After this article was written, on May 6th, an agent of a feudal family, in the village of Kamshish, shot and killed a member of the Socialist Union, a peasant.

From the very beginning it was clear that this was a politically motivated murder—the purpose being to instil into the peasants fear of the survivals of feudalism and exploiting capitalism.

The murder aroused a wave of national feeling against the survivals of exploitation. The Revolutionary government formed a committee headed by Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer, Vice-President, to abolish all survivals of exploitation in the countryside, economically and politically.

It took over all the lands of the families still evading the socialist laws, removed these families from the countryside and took measures to weaken the political authority of these traditional forces. This will influence, to a great extent, all the other anti-socialist forces and give great support to the socialist forces in their struggle to overcome all hostile elements.

The measures taken by the government in connection with the Kamshish incident will be the beginning of important political transformations, of no less importance than the July 1961 economic decisions, and will consolidate the positions of the socialist revolution in the United Arab Republic in the coming years.

South West Africa—
The Phoney War Ends

A. Langa

The Court finds that the Applicants cannot be considered to have established any legal right or interest appertaining to them in the subject-matter of the present claims, and that, accordingly, the Court must decline to give effect to them. For these reasons, the Court, by the President's casting vote—the votes being equally divided—decides to reject the claims of the Empire of Ethiopia and the Republic of Liberia.

WITH THESE WORDS, the International Court of Justice at The Hague ended six years of argument, evidence, submissions, pleas and counter-pleas, and finally removed the issue of South West Africa from litigation.

Unsurprisingly, every person who cherished the ideals of freedom and human decency, everyone who had respect for the idea of effective international law, was revolted and outraged by this cowardly judgment. For the African people, and the people of South West Africa in particular, the judgment brought home the realization that they had allowed themselves to be duped for six long years, hoping that legality and right would prevail and that the mandated territory would be set free from its years of slavery to the apartheid state.

The monstrous hypocrisy of the judges who voted in favour of the final judgment is difficult to comprehend. For in 1962, this same court voted exactly the opposite way when South Africa asked for a ruling that there was no case to answer, that Verwoerd was not compelled to submit his reign of terror in South West Africa to the scrutiny of the court. Then, the judges ruled that there was indeed a case to answer, that Ethiopia and Liberia had the right to put the white-supremacist regime on trial for its rape of the former German colony. But, having decided in 1962 that the court had jurisdiction over the application of the League of Nations mandate, in 1962 seven judges decided suddenly that Ethiopia and Liberia had no right to bring South Africa's treatment of the South West African people before the world body!

The International Court of Justice (ironical title!) has thoroughly and effectively exposed itself, not as an instrument of mediation among nations and arbiter of peaceful settlement of disputes, but as an agency for manipulation by imperialist powers for their own greedy ends. The imperialist appointees knew very well that it was totally impossible

for any ruling with even a semblance of legality to go in Verwoerd's favour: their solution, therefore, was for the court to sidestep the issue, to avoid considering the restrained and impressively-documented pleadings of South Africa's accusers, and to take refuge instead in empty legalisms which squirmed away from the stark fact of white barbarism in South West Africa.

It is worth analysing, briefly, just how this judgment was passed. The court split evenly (7-7) on the issue of the accusers' right to bring action against South Africa. This highlights the sinister role played by the court's President, Australian Sir Percy Spender. In the first place, Spender voted *twice*—and as President his second, casting, vote was the one which swung the court into rejecting Verwoerd's accusers. Secondly, it is now known that the Pakistani judge, Sir Zafrullah Khan, who had been a member of the court during earlier advisory cases involving South West Africa, recused himself under strong pressure from Spender. When we take into account that it was predominantly the African, Asian, Socialist and South American judges who rejected the court's final judgment, the full extent of Spender's role in the case begins to emerge.

The West European judges voted in a block against Ethiopia and Liberia—including the expatriate Pole Winiarski, who was immediately repudiated in a special statement issued by the Polish Government. One can see the anger at the shameful judgment behind the restrained legal language of the dissenting judges as, for example, in the words of Soviet judge Koretsky:

> The 'door' to the Court which was opened in 1962 to decide the dispute as the function of the Court demands, the decision of which would have been of vital importance for the peoples of South West Africa and to peoples of other countries where an official policy of racial discrimination still exists, was locked by the Court with the same key which had opened it in 1962.
>
> What is it that the Court was refusing to examine?

BISMARCK

South West Africa was occupied in the nineteenth century by Bismarck's savage colonisers, despite the heroic resistance wars led by Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the Namas, and, in 1904, by the Herero leader Samuel Maharero. The Germans, characteristically, drowned the African people's resistance in blood. General von Trotha issued the infamous Extermination Order when Maharero rebelled, ordering that every Herero man, woman and child in the belligerent north should be slaughtered. Once again Witbooi rallied all the tribes of the

south and began a protracted guerilla struggle that lasted until 1907. By then, half the Nama tribe had died, and the Herero had been reduced from 80,000 prosperous cattle-owners to 15,000 starving fugitives in their own land.

The hope that the South West African people would be freed by the defeat of their barbaric conquerors after the First World War was quickly crushed. A joint expedition by South African and Portuguese colonialists obliterated the rebellion of 21-year-old Chief Mandume of the Ukuanyama of Ovamboland, murdering 5,000 Africans in the process. A few years later, the whites rained bombs on the Nama people when they refused to hand over Abraham Morris, a leader of the second Nama war against the Germans.

Once entrenched, the South African regime set about the wholesale dispossession of the African people, handing their land over to white farmers and crowding the tribal people into rural ghettoes. In 1913 the territory's white population of 14,830 owned 11.5 million hectares. By 1962 the settlers numbered 72,000 and had expropriated over 40 million hectares, while the non-white population of half a million were driven into 21.8 million hectares of the most barren land. This is what, in practice, the 'sacred trust' of the League of Nations mandate meant to the people of South West Africa—wholesale robbery and wholesale exploitation.

At the same time, the pillaging of the country's mineral wealth accelerated, with American, British and South African monopolies reaping rich benefits from the toil of the South West African proletariat. Two companies owned by these imperialist concerns together control the extraction of over 90 per cent of the territory's useful minerals. Between 1958 and 1962, one-third of the entire South West African national wealth was siphoned out of the territory in profits for the foreign exploiters, while the people of the country lived in conditions of poverty and appression even exceeding the misery of the apartheid state itself.

DIAMONDS AND COPPER

The court action initiated by Ethiopia and Liberia was an attempt to remedy this situation. It is a fact that the longer South Africa retains its grip on the mandated country, the more difficult will be the task of economic development in a liberated South West Africa. For a large part of the wealth now being produced comes from diamonds and copper —and it has been estimated that the diamond resources will last only another 12 years and copper deposits another 20 to 25.

The Western imperialist powers thus have an acute interest in delaying

action by the world community against Verwoerd's fascist regime, for every year of delay means more money in their coffers. The imperialist powers had taken refuge behind the 'legal' issues whenever South West Africa comes up for discussion in the United Nations. Therefore, it was thought, if the International Court clearly ruled against South Africa, the West would have no further excuse for putting off what was to them the evil hour of democratic action against apartheid.

Some voices were raised, even six years ago, against this course. Far-sighted African leaders saw clearly that litigation would give South Africa and its imperialist allies ample scope to procrastinate, obscure the issues, sabotage concrete action, and take refuge in the pretence that no action could be taken as the issue was still 'sub-judice'. Even had the court issued a clear-cut condemnation of South Africa's violation of the 'sacred trust', it is certain that Verwoerd, backed up by the Western powers, would have strung the matter out for as long as possible, with requests for clarification of the judgment, further particulars, guidance, and so on. And all the time his allies would have prevented the United Nations, through their veto in the Security Council, from bringing justice to the suffering people of South West Africa.

In one very important way, therefore, the outrageous judgment of the International Court has served the interests of mankind. For it has removed the question of South West African slavery once and for all from the ponderous processes of international law. It has completely exposed the court as ineffective, cowardly, and an instrument of imperialist manipulation, instead of a firm bastion of right and justice. It has put apartheid dictatorship back in the arena where it belongs —back into the arena of political, diplomatic and military action.

But it has done more than that. It has shown conclusively that all the years of patient work by the progressive world through the United Nations, the lobbying. the resolutions of the General Assembly, the incisive reports of the Special Committee on Colonialism, the tireless efforts on behalf of South West Africa's oppressed masses, have come to nothing, except that they have thoroughly exposed the barbarism of the gang of racialists who enslave the territory's people, and shown to the world the cynicism of those who claim to stand for the 'free world'. Any person who really values the ideals of national liberation, freedom and democracy, must come to the conclusion that the United Nations has by now been largely exhausted as a weapon against South West Africa's oppressors.

In spite of the valiant efforts of the Socialist world, of African and Asian countries, the United Nations Organisation is still wide open to

manipulation by the imperialist powers for their own inhuman ends. It is a harsh lesson that Africa and the South West African people have had to learn, that the years of hopes for democratic action through the world body have come to nothing. But perhaps it is as well that the lesson should be given, and taken to heart. The liberation of South West Africa will not take place in the urbane corridors of the United Nations building in New York, or by any number of condemnatory resolutions, however well-meaning, by the General Assembly. In the last analysis, it will come through the efforts of the people themselves, assisted by the real friends of freedom, the Socialist countries and the newly-liberated democratic states.

TRUE PERSPECTIVE

Spotlight on South Africa, the journal of the African National Congress (South Africa) puts the matter in its true perspective:

> The people of South Africa, who have for centuries been fighting in defence of their fatherland and against white domination, did not at any time entertain the illusion that the International Court of Justice alone would solve their problems and win their freedom. To them, the act of taking racist South Africa to Court was but one of the many facets in the fight for national independence.
> At this crucial moment, the African National Congress is more than ever determined to continue its struggle unabatedly and to fight with all means at its disposal side by side with the courageous people of South West Africa until the seizure of power by the people and the total elimination of white domination and apartheid.

This is the way forward, the way to freedom. While any action by the United Nations (and one may be sure that the African states will be pushing hard for action during the new session of the General Assembly) will be welcome as help in the struggle, it is for the South West African people themselves to settle accounts with their oppressors. The heroic Frelimo liberation fighters of Mozambique have shown what can be done, dealing blow after blow to the Portuguese colonialists. There can be no doubt that the masses in South West Africa, with their glorious history of resolute resistance to oppression and invasion, will do the same. The racists may think now that they have won a victory: when they cower before the angry people of South West Africa they will change their minds.

AFRICA

Notes on Current Events

by SOL DUBULA

ZAMBIA: Africanization Many obstacles face the newly independent countries in their struggle to loosen their ties with the former colonial powers. It is not only the economic and financial grip which operates as a brake on national self assertion. In many instances important aspects of administration are still in the hands of the same people long after the foreign flag has been lowered. This is of special significance in the security services which, as history has shown, can often operate as a government within a government (even when they don't serve the interests of a foreign power, as e.g. the C.I.A. in the United States of America).

Many genuine political refugees from South Africa and elsewhere have often been disturbed to find that at the end of their life-and-death flight to the haven of an independent African state, they are met with hostility, or with a reception which is less than generous. In most cases the explanation is rooted in the fact that it is the same old imperialist secret police operating within the new framework, and which is both psychologically and emotionally more ready to respond to the needs of the imperialist country and the settler community than to those of independent Africa and the liberation movement.

It was therefore gratifying to note that President Kaunda's government in Zambia has summarily dismissed seventeen leading European police officers, including the Inspector-General and his deputy. All seventeen were officers of the Special Branch. None of them was allowed to go back to their offices (in fear possibly that they would destroy records or obtain important intelligence information). In addition the

two officers in charge of security in President Kaunda's office were removed. In all cases Zambians were promoted to replace those retired.

FRANCOPHONIE: A Trojan Horse Monsieur Hamani Diori, the President of Niger and chairman of OCAM, recently undertook an extensive tour of the African countries which constituted the former French colonial empire, in order to launch a new French-speaking Commonwealth—Francophonie. According to President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, one of Francophonie's chief protagonists, the Association will be made up of a group of nations which uses French either as a national language (such as France) or as an official language (the OCAM states) or as a working language (Tunisia).

M. Diori's tour was not an unqualified success. He conceded that Algeria had not welcomed the Francophonie idea. In Rabat the newspaper *Al Alam* greeted M. Diori by stating editorially that "if the members of OCAM want to regard themselves as French-speaking states for political or colonialist reasons, such an idea should not, except as an international gesture of courtesy, be suggested to a country which is Arab and Muslim and whose language was Arabic'. It went on to say that 'there is no need for a community of this sort for co-operation with France'.

The most clearly articulated opposition to the idea came from Guinea's President Sekou Toure, who denounced the proposal and characterized it as part of a broad design to destroy the independence of African countries. He called it a 'Trojan horse' and 'a new name for the very notorious French community'. He regarded this step as a 'disguised attempt by the imperialists to deny our continent its political and cultural personality', as a new imperialist underhand trick in an attempt to recolonize Africa.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA: Did they know? An interesting sidelight to the judgement of the International Court of Justice on the question of South West Africa was the confidence displayed by big business that the Court's deliberations would not affect them. According to the South African *Financial Mail* (July 29th, 1966) when the case was on, the American financed Tsumeb Mining Corporation not only expanded its development programme but also erected smelting and reduction works in addition to expanding its Kombat Mine at a cost exceeding five million pounds. Consolidated Diamond Mines also continued its tremendous expansion programme, running into many millions. In regard to some of its activities it had the support and

financial co-operation of the Tidewater Company which is a subsidiary of the Getty oil interests of America.

Could it be that these gentlemen had wind of the fact that whatever the outcome of the Court's decision, apartheid would be perpetuated and this would ensure that the rate of exploitation would remain as high as ever?

SOUTH AFRICA: A Licence to Sleep with your Wife

The following stop press item was published in the Johannesburg *Star* of July 28th, 1965:

'Director of Bantu Affairs at Welkom, Mr. Phil Smit, said today his Department had reduced the number of Africans licensed to sleep with their wives from 1,000 in 1962 to 117 at the end of June this year "despite an acute shortage of housing".'

Is it any wonder then that Verwoerd's death was greeted in the streets of Lagos with joyful cries of 'hallelujah' by vast crowds? They echoed the feeling of elation which reverberated throughout Africa when the people heard that this most hated symbol of this most hated racial policy had met his death.

LESOTHO: The hard road to real independence

An apartheid Bantustan or a free and independent Lesotho? This is the question which faced the Basuto people after the Union Jack was lowered in Maseru on October 4th. Unhappily the long awaited step in the direction of indpendent nationhood is marred by the fact that the reins of government are being entrusted to a group which has only minority support. It is being done in the teeth of bitter opposition from the majority of the people.

The past few decades in Africa have seen many manoeuvres by the imperialist powers to maintain their grip on those areas from which they have made a formal withdrawal. In this respect Lesotho is no exception. What perhaps makes it worse in the case of Lesotho, is that one of the leading parties to the conspiracy is White South Africa. It is now a notorious fact that the limited success of the Party of Catholic-sponsored Lebua Jonathan is in no small measure due to help from the South African racists. For them this is both a vital and a necessary investment.

It is an open secret that the Verwoerd Bantustan ideology has as one of its cornerstones the much larger concept of transforming the former protectorates into satellite states, with trappings of independence to assuage outside opinion. We don't know what precise agreement was reached at the Pretoria meetings of the unlamented late Dr. Verwoerd

and Chief Lebua Jonathan. What is clear and painful to recall is that the head of an African state swallowed his pride and dignity and bowed low before the high priest of racialism in the capital city which symbolizes the very depth of anti-black hysteria. What right has an African head of state to accept the special concession of being allowed to live in a white hotel (screened from other white guests) when his subjects are, both economically and spiritually, being ground into Pretoria's dust?

No-one can belittle the enormous economic and physical difficulties which face a territory like Lesotho. The shameful neglect by Britain has left it underdeveloped and backward and in many ways it is an economic and financial hostage of South African capital. There is, too, the additional difficulty of being completely surrounded by the herrenvolk state. In many respects the new state of Botswana is in the same tight corner. Yet Seretse Khama did not rush headlong to Pretoria. He has made it clear that diplomatic representation by Botswana will depend upon whether its representatives can be assured of not being subjected to the routine daily humiliations which a black skin attracts in every corner of White South Africa.

British duplicity has played no small part in aggravating the plight of Lesotho's people. When its purposes are served, Whitehall shows not the least scruple in breaking independence pledges and manipulating constitutional talks so as to remove anti-imperialist and democratically elected leaders and parties from the scene before independence. The most recent example of this is Guyana, where the independence pledge was not honoured until Cheddi Jagan's majority-supported party was cheated of its rightful claim to office. In effecting its purpose in Guyana legal niceties and solemn pledges were disregarded by the colonial office. Yet, in marked contrast, in the case of Lesotho there is a hypocritical invocation of constitutionalism and pledges in order to justify a grant of independence to a minority government. Whereas Cheddi Jagan's party had the majority of the people behind it (and for some reason was considered not fit to govern) Chief Lebua Jonathan is in the minority. At the last election the voting was as follows:

Basuto National Party	.. ..	108,000
Basutoland Congress Party	..	103,000
Marematlou Freedom Party	..	35,000

The B.C.P. and the M.F.P. had combined to demand that prior to independence there should have been a further expression of electoral opinion and they demanded further that a referendum should test the will of the people. In this they have the support of King Motlothlehi

Mosheshoe II. Despite threats by Chief Lebua Jonatyan one of the biggest crowds ever seen in Maseru (65,000) roared its unqualified approval of the demands of the Opposition. British officialdom was deaf to this roar because it regards Chief Lebua Jonathan as less of an embarrassment to its own very substantial economic stake in Southern Africa and apartheid.

As to the future there can be no doubt that those who may try to transform the proud Basuto people into Vorster's subjects will in the end meet with utter failure.

Struggle against Portuguese Colonialism Friends of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Africa will note with interest the announcement made at the end of August from Dar es Salaam that a merger has been effected between Holden Roberto's U.P.A. and Agostinho Neto's M.P.L.A. This move towards a consolidation of the liberation forces comes at a time when all the freedom movements in the Portuguese territories in Africa were meeting under the auspices of C.O.N.C.P. which now represents all the major liberation organizations in the Portuguese colonial territories, including P.A.I.G.C. and F.R.E.L.I.M.O.

Such moves towards the co-ordination of the efforts of the liberation organizations must be disconcerting to the Portuguese authorities who now face armed guerilla activity in almost all their African territories. In the last issue of this journal (number twenty-six) we quoted figures about the stepping up of military activity by the liberation forces of F.R.E.L.I.M.O. in Mozambique. Now comes more news from the Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea (P.A.I.G.C.) which claims to have killed or captured more than 1,500 Portuguese troops over the last twelve months. Amilcar Cabral the secretary of P.A.I.G.C. also announced in Algiers that 200 teachers were undergoing training to help teach about 8,000 pupils in the liberated zones of Guinea.

The *Times of Zambia* reports that freedom fighters have increased their military activity in the eastern districts of Angola. The Portuguese Minister of Defence, General Gomes de Araujo, has admitted that the conflict in Angola has spread to a new front.

Also from Zambia comes the tragic news that Jaime Sigauke, head of the internal organization of the Mozambique Liberation Front (F.R.E.L.I.M.O.), had been 'killed in the exercise of his duty in Zambia'. The Portuguese imperialists, whose secret police methods South Africa's Security Branch has embraced, seem to specialize in this sort of assassination on foreign soil. This could be another Delgado-type outrage in direct breach of all the canons of international law. According to the Portuguese news agency an attempt was also made recently

in Zambia on the life of Holden Roberto. The Portuguese lack of respect for both life and law was demonstrated once again by its recent bombing of a defenceless village in Zambia whose inhabitants were obviously not engaged in military activity.

NIGERIA: The People should take Part Whatever reservations one might have about the coup as an instrument of social change, there can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Nigerian people reacted with joy at the historic events of January 15th, 1966, which toppled the old corrupt structure of the Nigerian state. There was an air of expectancy not only inside Nigeria but throughout the world. At last there seemed to be a real prospect that the biggest and most populous state of Africa, rich in resources* and traditions would assert its nationhood and cast off the strait-jacket of a political structure which made power the monopoly of an alliance between the growing capitalist classes and the most backward and reactionary traditional rulers.

Sensing the mood of the people the military leaders started taking the first tentative steps in an attempt to destroy the Lugard-type framework which had served imperial interests so well. The decree abolishing federalism was, however, greeted with violence in the northern territory, instigated by the traditional rulers. (See AFRICAN COMMUNIST, issue no. 26.)

Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi did not remain steadfast in his course. He took fright and climbed down. Did he have an alternative? Yes, he did. His alternative was to allow the people to show their strength—to seek the support of those bodies and those forces which had no stake in the spoils system of the old regime. With the peoples' strength behind him he could have refused to compromise with the Emirs and the Sultans. By indiscriminately banning all political organizations he did not succeed in creating a political vacuum but rather an atmosphere in which the reactionary elements could plan a come-back campaign unhindered by mass opposition. This is the inherent weakness of putsch politics.

In this column (in issue number twenty-six) we issued a warning that the military authorities in Nigeria should not delude themselves in believing that decrees outlawing political activity will in themselves be

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* Nigeria is potentially the richest country in Africa. It has a population of 55 million and is the world's greatest producer of groundnuts, palm oil, palm products and colombite. It is the world's second largest producer of cocoa and the world's fifth producer of tin.

effective. The events of the night of July 28-29th have borne out our fear.

It is now clear that the carefully planned army mutiny had been intended for August but the date was brought forward by the presence of Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi in Ibadan where he could more easily be isolated. The rebellion took place simultaneously at Ibadan, Abeokuta and Ikeja. It is most significant that the first letter which was sent by the rebels demanded a return to the 'status quo ante January 15th'. The Sultan of Sokoto became vocal again and publicly condemned the 'bad and fateful events of January 15th'. Lieut.-Colonel Gowon, the new head of the military government, also referred in a public address to the 'sad and unfortunate incidents of January 15th, 1966'. He spoke too of his belief that Nigeria has no basis for unity.

Soon after the latest rebellion Lieut.-Colonel Ojukwu, the military governor of the Eastern Provinces said that Lieut-.Colonel Gowon had accepted the rebel demand that Nigeria should be split up into its component parts. As a gesture to those who favour the balkanization of Nigeria, a decree was issued by the military government which modified and nullified 'any provision of any decree which assumes extreme centralization, so as to ensure a rapid return to the former federal structure of the constitution as a basis for further constitutional review'.

Lieut.-Colonel Gowon has since denied that he wants the country split up and has stated that Nigerians can only benefit from remaining 'a single entity in one form or another'. He expressed the hope that an acceptable constitutional solution would be found so that his military government would 'fade away'.

We can only emphasize once again that those patriots in the armed forces (and it is disturbing that so many of those who participated in the January 15th events are still behind bars) who believe that radical social transformation can be effected without the mass mobilization of the people will meet with more setbacks in the future. In the words of Mr. Wahab Goodluck, President General of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress: '*The answer to the yearnings of millions of Nigerians for a good Government lies in the hands of the working people of Nigeria in alliance with the farmers. And this is the time to give the answer.*' Towards this end a meeting of workers' representatives has been convened to discuss Nigeria's future.

The all-Nigeria representative conference to discuss the pattern of the future Nigerian State is still busy deliberating. It is most regrettable that to date no representatives of the Trade Unions and workers and farmers party have been seated. This contrasts sharply with the fact that under the previous military administration two places were

allocated to Trade Unionists in the body which was to review the Constitution.

In the difficult and complex Nigerian situation those at the helm of affairs would do well to differentiate sharply between the divisive elements who exploit tribalism for their own benefit, and those, like the trades unionists and the Nigerian Workers' and Peasants' Party, who can play an invaluable role in a united national effort to put Nigeria along the path of progress.

KENYA: Anti-Asian Racialism? The 'Voice of Kenya', Kenya's official broadcasting station, has attacked the Asian community for failing 'to show their unstinted support for President Kenyatta and his government'. It is a matter for some wonder why the Asian community (or any other community for that matter) is called upon to show its unstinted support for any particular political group. There is surely a basic confusion here between patriotism and the special policy and ideology of a section of the political community. It is a very dangerous confusion because it is so often the precursor of a general move to destroy all democratic opposition.

Mr. Oginga Odinga, the leader of the newly formed Kenya People's Union, has accused the radio of stirring up racial hatred. Six Kenya citizens of Asian extraction have been deported for 'disloyalty' and 'disaffection'. Most of them were associated with the political opposition. This move has coincided with the internment of eight leading opposition supporters under the new Preservation of Public Security Act. Amongst those detained is Mrs. Caroline Okello-Odongo, the wife of a K.P.U. leader, and former personal secretary to Mr. Oginga Odinga. Also interned are two of Kenya's leading trade union organizers, Ochola Mak'enyengo and Dennis Akumu, who was also administrative secretary of the K.P.U.

The emergency legislation under which an attempt is being made to terrorize opposition supporters has given the Kenya government arbitrary powers of arrest and detention. Formerly such powers could only be invoked during a war or an emergency. There did not seem to have been the slightest suggestion that the present Kenya government faced an emergency or any sort of threat which would necessitate the exercise of such draconian powers or which would justify the scant respect shown for the entrenched provisions in Kenya's constitution.

THE CONGO: A Defender of Western Ideology Siegfried Muller, a former first lieutenant in the Nazi Wehrmacht and leader of a mercenary unit in the Congo, tells a story which is at once

nauseating and horrific. In an interview with the German Democratic Republic television service, 'Congo' Muller ('my hobby is modern warfare') relates how after an application to Tshombe to join the mercenaries he was advised to go to South Africa where the main force was being recruited and assembled. He went to South Africa where he found 'a wonderful country to emigrate to . . . one couldn't devise anything better . . . the Whites and the Blacks are strictly separated from each other. One could almost say like in the Third Reich—the Germans and the Jews. The Blacks fill all the inferior positions, we Whites have an unbelievable standard of living in South Africa'.

In South Africa he joined Tshombe's mercenaries (he was told it was for a 'nigger hunt'). Muller went on to say 'already during this Katanga period Tshombe had volunteers from South Africa in his service. Tshombe's father had business connections with South Africa and he, Tshombe, was not at all so negatively disposed to South Africa . . . with him the colour of his skin played a secondary role'. He relates further how as head of Commando 52 (German paratroopers and some 500 White youths from South Africa) he went on a rampage of the countryside and it is clear from his statement which people he was helping to destroy.

'I discovered that rebels were in the vicinity, the so-called Jeunesse, a revolutionary youth—a youth which roughly had the liberation of their fatherland in mind, but socialists, very socialist. During one attack Lieut. Louw let the enemy approach up to 300 metres, then he opened fire. In no time some forty dead lay there; wounded were not taken prisoner in my unit, here we only shoot to kill.

'Ill-treatment, that is normal here, when you interrogate someone he has to get a few blows otherwise he won't talk right. And when he has talked he is killed . . . normally we do not take prisoners and if it does happen, then they are cut up piece by piece, first the right leg, then the left leg . . .'

Perhaps the most ghastly piece of cynical barbarism relates to the co-operation between 'Congo' Muller and an Italian by the name of Gualtiere Jocopetti who had twice been convicted of sexual offences on young people before he went to the Congo. Jocopetti is described by Muller as 'a good film director' from Italy. As if in a studio production Jocopetti had Africans murdered by Muller's men to lend realism to his film. He used to say to Muller that there was a man to be shot and could he please place him 'a little bit over to the left so that the sun shines on him better'. On another occasion he wanted to film the death struggle of a Freedom Fighter from point blank range. Muller's mercenaries took hold of a young Congolese and shot bullets into his

face and body. Jocopetti filmed the man's torment from the distance of a few inches.

I called this cynical barbarism because thereafter the cruelty and blood letting were represented in some of Italy's glossy magazines and on the screens as proof of the cruel and violent nature of the indigenous people.

When in the future we read the ravings of a Vorster or a Verwoerd or a Smith about whites preserving civilization in Africa let us remember that they mean the same thing as 'Congo' Muller who ended his interview with the words:

'In the Congo I defended the West, Western freedom, our Western ideology. . . . In Africa we are fighting for Europe. . . . I am a defender of the Christian or Western hemisphere.'

BOOK REVIEWS

The Roots of Racialism

Race Relations In Britain, by A. Chater (Lawrence & Wishart, 3s. 6d.)

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of Great Britain has a long and proud record in its struggle against racialism. It has ceaselessly campaigned against this menace in Britain and it has never been lacking in its solidarity with the under-developed countries which have been the main victims of this ideological weapon of imperialism.

Race Relations in Britain by A. Chater, Communist parliamentary candidate and member of the Party's executive committee, is in the best tradition of British working class aspirations.

Relations between white and coloured citizens and the limiting of immigration have become disturbing issues in Britain today. The object of this excellent little handbook in the 'Socialism Today' series is to examine the problems of race relations in Britain and to remove those causes hindering better relations between white and coloured citizens.

The author's aim, therefore, is primarily the education of the British public, which is subject to the prejudice nurtured by its ruling capitalist class, and a prey to the vicious propaganda of the racialist lunatic fringe. Posing the pathological slanders the racialists seek to spread amongst the British people the author refutes each in turn in a reasoned, factual, convincing manner, exposing the way these ravings facilitate capitalist exploitation of both white and coloured workers.

In destroying the myths and dispelling the prejudices the author renders a more universal service than the somewhat limited title of the booklet might at first convey. Before dealing with the problem in its specific British context he explains the origins and mythology of

racialism and the imperialist policy that keeps the under-developed nations under-developed. These opening chapters (they take up exactly half of this short book) are succinctly brilliant in their analyses of racialism, and in unmasking the real forces behind race prejudice.

'Probably nothing is of such crucial importance to our understanding of what those forces are', declares the author, 'as the fact that race prejudice did not exist before the sixteenth century'.

The Age of Discovery heralded the start of the world's greatest gold-rush and its appendage—the slave trade.

> From that moment began the enslavement and ruthless exploitation ot entire coloured races to finance the expansion of European capitalism. Some explanation, some rationalisation had to be found to justify the inhuman treatment meted out to the coloured people. Racialism, stigmatising them as animals and brutes simply because of the colour of their skin, supplied the answer.

Prior to this period feelings of superiority were based on cultural or religious distinctions, not racial differences. The Ancient Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans, showed no trace of race prejudice. Through assimilation they aimed at securing the adoption of their culture by the people they conquered. Likewise the intolerance of the Roman Catholic Church was based on converting the non-Christian. This process of assimilation illustrates the important difference between intolerance based on culture or religion and prejudice based on race.

> Basically race prejudice, which has many forms of expression, amounts to depriving coloured people of their full humanity which makes their complete assimilation into Western society quite impossible, whether or not they adopt Western ways and the Christian religion.

Thus the exploitation of entire races is a characteristic of capitalism. Racialism seeks to preserve the separate identity of the oppressed races so that they can be continually exploited, forever inferior.

Not only does race prejudice facilitate the exploitation of the coloured people as cheap labour, but it also helps to maintain the domination of the capitalists over their own workers.

In Britain it does this in two ways. 'First, race prejudice inhibits the development of united action by the British people and the colonial and ex-colonial peoples abroad. This holds back the common struggle to resist the power of big business and win socialist advance.' (The author cites as an example Wilson's appeasement of Smith over Zimbabwe.) 'Secondly, race prejudice is used to make coloured immigrants from the Commonwealth into the scape-goat for all the ills confronting the British people.'

The real cause of those problems is the capitalist system. The housing

shortage, overcrowding and slum development, difficulties in the educational system, the threat to workers' wages and conditions ,etc., etc., are all blamed on the coloured immigrant. As was the cause with the Jews before the war, 'attention is diverted from the real causes, and the real culprits are left free to make their profits at the expense of white and coloured alike'. As with Hitler, and today with Vorster, racialism can be used to whittle away democratic rights.

Without racial prejudice there would be a common alliance of white and coloured workers and then capitalist exploitation would stand exposed as the real cause of the problems facing the people. This would mean the doom of British imperialism. The British Government's policy on immigration has encouraged the racialists, caused resentment amongst coloureds, and is a stage in the campaign to divert attention from the real issues. Colour prejudice has been encouraged because the capitalists fear the common alliance that could develop between coloured people abroad and British people at home. The building of this common front is a challenge to the British people and a contribution they can make to the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle.

The future of race relations in Britain depends upon the influence exerted on the mass of the people. The Tory politicians and the Labour leadership have appeased the racialist minority. If the Government clearly showed itself opposed to racialism it would take an immense step in influencing all to accept the coloured immigrants on an equal footing. The author lists positive measures which if operated would lead to the friendship, understanding and mutual respect of all members of the community. Race prejudice is not inevitable, it is not as race theorists claim an instinctive reaction biologically associated with pigmentation; it is something people learn from the society in which they live—'a society which . . . has been able to subordinate entire races to its drive for capitalist profit.'

Socialists strive for better race relations, they are completely opposed to racialism, exposing the way it facilitates the exploitation of white and black alike. This booklet stands as an excellent example of that guiding spirit. It carries forward the struggle for racial equality and the brotherhood of Man.

ALEXANDER SIBEKO.

The Role of the Trade Unions

African Trade Unions, by Ioan Davies. (Penguin African Library, 5s.)

THIS IS AN analytical and historical study. It traces the growth of trade unions throughout Africa against the background of economic development, examines their status before and after independence, and describes

their relations with government in a variety of political situations. Mr. Davies, who lectures in sociology at the University of Essex, has produced a valuable work out of somewhat fragmentary material, and opens the way to more detailed surveys of trade unionism in individual countries.

What he has to say is scarcely to the credit of the labour movement in the imperialist countries. The old colonial administrations discouraged the growth of free trade unions, banned strikes, shot down strikers, arrested and deported their leaders. Instead of protesting against this abuse of power, the trade unions of Britain, France and Belgium ignored the struggles of African workers and often helped to keep them down.

British trade unionists, who had seats on the Colonial Labour Advisory Committee formed in 1942, 'became active participants in the development of colonial policy', and insisted that the unions in colonies should be 'non-political'. They were not to take part in the struggle for national liberation, or even to put up a fight for economic demands. Britain's great tradition of working class struggle for the franchise, and of alliance between trade unions and labour parties, could not be exported to her colonies. Labour commissioners, some of whom were trade unionists from Britain, kept a tight bureaucratic control over African unions, and this regimentation, writes Davies, led to the integration of trade unions in the governmental structure of several African countries today.

Capitalist exploitation and white arrogance were even more pronounced in the Belgian Congo, while, in the French colonies, the mass of African wage earners were not allowed to form legal trade unions until after the war. Those that were formed became extensions of the trade unions of metropolitan France, which tended to behave as colonial trustees in their dealings with the African affiliates. It was Sekou Toure of Guinea who led the breakaway from imperial paternalism and demanded the right to organize independently of the political and ideological policies of trade unions in France.

Davies underestimates the influence of the international trade union movement in Africa before the war. Both the Red International (R.I.L.U.) and its right-wing counterpart the I.F.T.U. had dealings with unions in colonial countries, and gave them some assistance, as in the case of Kadalie's I.C.U. in South Africa. Rivalry occurred after the split in the W.F.T.U. in 1949 when representatives of trade unions in the imperialist states withdrew to form the I.C.F.T.U. Davies is hostile to the W.F.T.U.—and, generally, to communists in the trade unions—and gives it little credit for its correct decision to assist African unions to

stand on their own feet whether or not they were affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

The I.C.F.T.U., claiming to represent the 'free' trade unions, rapidly became a counter-revolutionary organization, in which the American representatives intrigued against the British, French and Belgians for control of African trade unionism. Davies acknowledges that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. worked closely with the American State Department and the subversive Central Intelligence Agency to combat all forms of socialism and to force Africans into a pro-American position in the cold war. Intervention in African labour unions turned them, and their governments, against the I.C.F.T.U., and led to the collapse of its policies in Africa. But it has done a great deal of damage to African unions—it disrupted the trade unions and corrupted some trade union leaders.

If the unions have thrown off the restraining hand of imperialist agents, they have yet to work out a satisfactory relation with their own governments. There is great pressure on them to become instruments of state policy or, as in Tunisia, to confine their activities to commercial enterprises and welfare services. Davies suggests that there may be no place for them in one-party states, except as unofficial departments of government, in which their role is to share the responsibility for economic planning and wage fixation. This may be sound policy in a socialist society where workers own the means of production, but it will not do in Africa.

Class divisions and conflict occur throughout the continent. Appeals to the unions to be 'responsible' and to practise wage restraint have the effect of strengthening the position of the employing class at the expense of wage earners. Davies points out that 'many governments fear the effect on foreign investment if unions, sufficiently well-organized, prove too powerful to resist in campaigns for higher wages'. He has not followed this line of reasoning through to its conclusion, and this is that attempts to muzzle the unions and turn them into sell-outs will expose the workers to uncontrolled exploitation.

The great weakness of the book is that it ignores the realities of the class struggle and its effects on the African worker. The social inequalities of colonialism will persist also in the independent states, until the working people have succeeded in freeing themselves from capitalism's drive to maximize profits. Trade unions have a key role in this struggle, if necessary against their governments, but will ultimately assist in building a society that will not only be free of national oppression but also of class exploitation.

R. E. BRAVERMAN.

The Challenge of Socialism in Africa

Socialist Ideas in Africa, by Idris Cox. Lawrence and Wishart, 15s.

THIS BOOK IS timely and will be warmly welcomed by all freedom fighters in Africa and elsewhere. It is a small book of no more than 120 pages and is clearly intended as no more than an introduction to a vital subject which clearly requires much examination by socialist thinkers and writers. The author himself expresses the hope that the book will stimulate others to participate in 'this exciting discussion of the future of the new Africa'.

The book has a twofold purpose. On the one hand Idris Cox wishes to expose some of the false notions of 'socialism' current in Africa today. The most notorious of these is perhaps the paper issued by the Kenya government entitled 'African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya'. This colossal parody of socialism is shown up for what it is in a brief but devastating analysis. The same treatment is handed out to the much more sophisticated but not less pernicious doctrine of Negritude. Idris Cox gives some surprising and interesting details of the background of President Leopold Senghor of Senegal who is the chief exponent of Negritude. This concept of 'socialism' is seen to have a mystical and religious content which in practice leads to co-operation with imperialism and opposition to all effective steps to achieve African unity.

On the other hand the book brings out of the confused welter of ideas on socialism in Africa some of the new and fresh concepts born of African experience. Even from the erroneous he extracts the positive content of ideas that can be of great importance for socialism in Africa. In this connection he pays close attention to the ideas of two of the most progressive statesmen Africa has produced, Presidents Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah. In perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book Idris Cox deals with certain aspects of the historical roots of communal life and thinking in Africa. He makes a comparative analysis of the ideas particularly of Karl Marx—the founder of scientific socialism and those of Nyerere. Those who are not familiar with African thought might feel that this delving into the past is straining at gnats. It is not. Africans feel very passionately the crime committed by imperialist historians to deny the contribution of Africa to the general culture of the world. Progressives who are honest and genuine must on no account gloss over this gap in the thinking of much of the world. And socialists owe a duty to mankind to take a foremost role in demonstrating over and over again that the history of Africa is

at one with that of the rest of mankind in spite of its special characteristics. It is entirely correct for Idris Cox to devote attention to this aspect as much as he does in this small book. In the chapter devoted to Nkrumaism, Idris Cox correctly pays tribute to the powerful influence of Kwame Nkrumah in the ideological struggle in Africa. He traces the development of Nkrumaism and shows how more and more these ideas came closer to what scientific socialists could accept. Naturally he is critical of much contained in the writings on Nkrumaism and has just reservations about them. But his attitude is a positive one.

Although the writer has generally limited himself to the two main tasks referred to in this book, reading through it suggests a whole host of other ideas.

For example there is the question of the sources of socialist ideas in Africa which this book does not set out to examine at all but which is of vital importance. The access by African scholars to the classics of socialism has been limited in a large part of the continent. What has been the circulation of Marxist-Leninist works in Africa? What about other well-known philosophers and writers in all fields who dealt with what could be described as genuine socialist coin?

The imperialists' governments in the colonies were certainly very thorough and ruthless in their efforts to prevent our people from any contact with socialist ideas. In the schools, colleges and universities such as they were, this type of literature just did not exist over most of Africa. Overwhelmingly we had access only to the critics or the cleverly hostile interpreters of the classics. Those African intellectuals who managed to reach educational institutions in those imperialist countries where bourgeois freedoms obtained were perhaps more fortunate. Yet even there they no doubt had to share the disabilities of all progressives who have to contend even today with highly organised anti-socialist propaganda. Most of Africa was therefore insulated from the stimulating ideological conflicts and debates which served to clarify concepts of socialism especially in Europe. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution is inseparable from these great debates. We find therefore very often that ideas which are taken for granted elsewhere are fresh and new in Africa, calling for fresh debates.

There is much that is creative and original in the thinking of the new Africa. And as the continent achieves greater control over its education, communications and publishing there will be even greater flow of ideas than at present.

Because, let there be no mistake, socialist ideas are still not circulating freely in independent states today. A large number of ideas referred to as '*African*' are only so to the extent that they are expressed

by Africans in authority. They are not necessarily the most interesting or valid expressions of socialist thought in Africa. Idris Cox has in the main dealt with the ideas of Presidents Nyerere, Senghor, Kwame Nkrumah, Keita and other men who are or were at the head of states. But, as he must be aware, there is much material that can be derived from the Marxist-Leninist parties in Africa. Indeed there are indications in the book that the writer had these in mind all the time. But it would have been fruitful to have examined at greater length the contributions of Senegalese Marxist-Leninists on Senghor for example, or the ideas of other Marxist-Leninist Parties in Africa. This would have dispelled any impression that the African statesmen mentioned are the best or only source of ideas on the subject of socialism in Africa.

The African revolution is on the verge of a new advance. Having achieved independence over much of the continent the demand for radical social and economic changes is arising on all sides. This is reflected in vigorous ideological debates throughout Africa in which African Marxist-Leninists are playing a crucial and essential part. Partisanship is vital in this field particularly as what appears a mere difference of opinion today can be the basis of stubborn class battles in the future.

Idris Cox's book absolutely challenges the appearance of more works on Socialism in Africa. We hope he himself will find time 'amid hectic political activity' to write a comprehensive follow-up.

A.Z.

Novels of Frustration

The Late Bourgeois World, by Nadine Gordimer. (Gollancz, 21s.)

Five Years, by Deirdre Levinson. (André Deutsch, 21s.)

DID THE MISSES Gordimer and Levinson attend the same school of 'Creative Writing'? Their novels, recently published in the same month, are both short, slight works that open with a bang and end with a whimper. And both are soaked in the heady but debilitating wine of South African fringe politics.

Miss Gordimer's reputation as a writer of distinction is probably over-blown. She has a sensitive ear for language and can hit off a pointed phrase accurately, often revealing insight into the nuances of human relations. But hers is a minor talent. She lacks the intellectual power or the political insight to impose artistic form on the intractable material of the race State, with its sharply drawn moral contrasts, its violence and tragedy, its grossness and its subtleties. Miss Gordimer reflects the rootlessness, loss of identity, the spiritual frustration and

anxiety of the liberal living in an illiberal world where the whites trample on liberal principles in the name of civilization and the blacks have cast aside the clay-footed idol after half a century of praying to it in vain.

It is these essentially negative qualities that strike a chord in Miss Gordimer's audience in the West. They harmonize well with the post-war cultural malaise that finds its literary expression in the work of writers like Becket, Genet and others who—God forgive them—know not what they do. The bourgeois world is still with us; it is only 'late' in the sense that it has lost its sense of direction. Thus is reflected on the plane of ideas the socio-economic and political obsolescence of capitalism and imperialism.

In South Africa apartheid is the result and form of both capitalism and imperialism in a racially mixed society. Readers familiar with *The Road to South African Freedom*, the programme of the South African Communist Party, will not need a guide through the complex maze of economic and social factors which have created the race State. But Miss Gordimer needs some such guide and so do her characters. Outraged decency is a good starting-point for the white opponent of Verwoerd but as armour for the fight it is totally inadequate. Understanding of the roots of revolt must lead the white democrat into the national liberatory movement. Outside it he flounders.

Against this background one can account for both the emergence and the failure of the A.R.M. (African Resistance Movement)—a largely white sabotage organization founded in 1960/61 and crushed in 1964 when some of its members were convicted, others politically emasculated by being used as State witnesses, and the rest forced into exile. Max, former husband of the narrator of *The Late Bourgeois World*, whose suicide opens the book and recurs as the main theme, is a failure. A saboteur who was caught within twenty-four hours of planting his home-made bomb (which—aptly—did not go off), he was sent to prison. . . .

> but he was called as a State witness after serving fifteen months, and he spoke. He was beaten when he was first arrested, that we know, but what else he was confronted with later, what else they showed him in himself, we do not know—but he spoke. He spoke of Solly and Eve King and the man who was arrested with him . . . and other friends with whom we had lived and worked for years.
> He is dead now. He didn't die for them—the people, but perhaps he did more than that. In his attempts to love he lost even his self-respect, in betrayal.

Miss Gordimer's book just peters out. As literature it is a failure, just as the A.R.M. itself was a failure. Lacking mass support, it had no

tradition from which to draw strength, no continuity to enable it to survive set-backs. Some of its members may have played the dangerous game of racial chauvinism and flirted with the P.A.C., like Max and his friends. But events have shown that the 'Africanist' credo, the call of the blood of black men, does not answer to the needs of the oppressed peoples of South Africa. The Congress Alliance, uniting workers and peasants, Africans, Coloureds and Indians, white radicals and militants of all races, does answer their need. Not otherwise could it have survived the fierce persecution of Vorster's agents.

Like the Congress organizations and the Communist Party, the A.R.M. has suffered greatly from Nazi repression and police brutality. Many of its members have been imprisoned. Some were broken and defected. Its leaders have been pushed out of the country. But there the similarity ends. The A.R.M. merely voiced protest, expressed frustration and died the predictable death of an organization without roots among the masses, that placed all hopes in a romantic, ill-defined and far-fetched coup.

Miss Levinson's novel is thinly-veiled autobiography. It is easy to recognize in it the 'Non-European Unity Movement' and its various off-shoots, Professor A. C. Jordan and other political figures on the campus of the University of Cape Town. One can also feel the authenticity of the author's account of her tortuous involvement in the endless internecine bickering of Trotskyite politicking—dogmatic insistence on 'non-collaboration', misdirected attacks on other opposition groups, sterile theorizing as a substitute for action, the whole boring and negative and inbred business. Poor Miss Levinson—she never extricated herself from the morass. Her book ends:

> I have never doubted from first to last that we will win, but in my five years in South Africa I learnt the nature of the odds. And something else. South Africa brought me nearest my bone. I belong to my own dialectic—my source and the protest it engendered—and only therefore belong anywhere. It was South Africa that made this the most absolute reality for me, by providing the means for its real expression. It was there that I learnt how to use it.

The pity of it, the pathos (or arrogance?) of 'I belong to my own dialectic'. What's wrong, Miss Levinson, with the dialectic of history? Or did you, its victim, fail to see it, larger than life, unfolding in South Africa today?

P.P.

A Professor's Misnomer

An African Bourgeoisie, by Leo Kuper (Yale University Press)

THE ASSUMPTION IS frequently made that all significant social processes in society can be fully explained in terms of a single factor such as 'class', 'race', 'nationalism' or other factor which is believed to be fundamental. The danger of making an analysis on the basis of such assumptions is that matters of crucial importance sometimes tend to become obscured. The view, for example, that only race is relevant may result in important class forces being overlooked. Or, conversely, an explanation based on class only may fail to give proper weight to race or status, etc. The analysis of South African society, even by Marxists, is a case in point. While the economic functions of racial discrimination have been fully documented, little attention has been paid to the analysis of classes among the whites, and no serious investigation has been made of the interest, structure and role of classes in the African population. The reason for this is no doubt an implied assumption that such classes as do exist are, in present circumstances, of little significance, and in any case classes amongst Africans have the same interest in ending Apartheid.

But is this so? If it is so *now*, has it always been so? What is the evidence? Are there conditions under which differences between the classes may manifest themselves? What effect would this have on political attitudes and actions in the struggle against apartheid? The political importance of finding answers to such questions is obvious, and it is precisely because Leo Kuper raises these issues that his book *An African Bourgeoisie* is of interest. Unfortunately, however, Kuper has really done no more than pose some of the problems. For the rest, this very long book (over 400 pages) provides a rather stale, if unexceptionable, political history of South Africa since 1948, and considerable, frequently repetitious, detail about various African associations and occupations the relevance of which is not always clear.

Kuper sets out to show:

> That there is an identifiable class made up of African traders, professionals and clerks who are, to some degree, conscious of their class.
>
> That the pressure for social change is felt most keenly by this 'African bourgeoisie' and since their education, income, prestige and skill places them at the top of African society it is 'their interest which will shape African action and aspiration'.

In Part II of the book Kuper asks and answers the question implied

in the first point above, namely, whether those in the relevant occupations have in common other social characteristics which arise from their position in the occupational structure. In what is probably the best part of the book he shows that professionals and clerks (it is not at all clear where the traders fit in) have in common a relatively high standard of education and income; that there is some tendency towards self-recruitment in the sense that 25 per cent of those in the relevant jobs are the children of parents who were in the same type of jobs; that people in these occupations tend to mix together socially, marry one another, follow the same religion and belong to the same voluntary organizations; that they have a distinctive style of life—clothes, cars, weddings, etc.

A CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS?

But while this demarcation of a separate category is interesting and an essential prerequisite to the analysis, it is only the first step. That is to say, the fact that some people, objectively regarded, have the same position in society is of little importance unless, in addition, there is mutual awareness, among the individual members, of this fact and above all of their special common class interest. As Marx put it in dealing with the small-holding peasants:

> 'In so far as the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bond, and no political organizations among them, they do not form a class.' (*Eighteenth Brumaire.*)

In order to ascertain whether or not the 'African bourgeoisie' are mutually aware of their common 'class' positions, Kuper asked a sample of teachers and others various questions. While the evidence is by no means clear or satisfactory, there is sufficient to show that those questioned seem to differentiate themselves from other Africans on the basis of education and occupation. As Kuper puts it:

> '*A common subjection has not stifled class differentiation within the African community, nor has the low ceiling placed on their achievements prevented Africans from drawing distinctions among themselves.*'

It does not follow that individuals who are aware of belonging to the same class as others are also necessarily conscious of the fact that they have interests in common—the English white collar workers in the nineteenth century were acutely aware of their separate identity but were oblivious of any common interests and consequently of the need to organize themselves. Kuper does not appear to have kept this distinction in mind and consequently his treatment of class aware-

ness or consciousness is very unclear. However, it is possible to draw out of his argument his conclusion that, although the African bourgeoisie is not yet a fully developed conscious class, it is developing in that direction because of its special situation and interests.

Now the special situation and interests of the African bourgeoisie is precisely the central issue to be determined in a study of this kind. According to Kuper:

> *'Only in the very general sense of freedom or emancipation can the objective interests of Africans be described as identical.'*

Implied in this is the contention that the 'African bourgeoisie' has specific objective class interests exclusive to itself. The questions which have to be asked, therefore, are:

> What is the special situation of the African bourgeoisie? What are the objective interests which arise from its situation and how do these differ in material respects from the objective interest of other classes?

In dealing with the first question Kuper suggests two answers. Fly,irst the African bourgeoisie's 'occupational milieu' is a source of considerable strain and conflict with the Apartheid system, and Kuper advances a number of interesting (and some very doubtful) propositions on this subject. But notwithstanding 150 pages on the occupational milieu of the different groups within the bourgeoisie, he produces very little evidence in support of his various propositions; above all he fails to establish the link between the occupational milieu and the class position and/or political role of the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, Kuper contends that the African bourgeoisie is in a situation of 'status incongruity'. This arises from the fact that:

> *'Within the African community, achievement in the fields of education and trade is sufficiently rare to win an exaggerated recognition and prestige. Within the wider society, in relations with the dominant group, race as the main criterion of status divests African achievement of true significance. There is thus both an exaggeration and frustration of achievement.'*

NOT PROVEN

It is, however, precisely in respect of these matters that Kuper offers no evidence at all. He assumes that African workers for example

accord prestige to professionals by virtue of education and/or occupation just as workers are alleged (on the basis of unsatisfactory evidence) to do in say England. Do workers and peasants regard traders or teachers or clerks as being at the 'apex' of the African people? In what sense are these 'upper occupational categories'? as Kuper terms them in another passage. Is it not just as likely, if not more so, that prestige is accorded to those educated Africans who involve themselves in the political struggle because of their participation and not because of their occupation or education?

The suggestion that the dominant factor in the situation of the African bourgeoisie is the matter of status is also highly problematical. While there is ample evidence to suggest that this was the case in the pre-Second World War period, post-war developments appear to have resulted in other factors becoming more important. Kuper fails to either group or explain these changes.

But of greater importance is the fact that these factors, even if they exist, do not provide any substantial objective basis for the alleged special and separate objective interests of the 'bourgeoisie'. Perhaps this is why Kuper at no stage explicitly sets out what the objective interests of the bourgeoisie are.

At one point he appears to argue that the claim for status is an objective interest *peculiar* to the bourgeoisie; but he follows this immediately by stating that the status deprivation of the bourgeoisie 'is merely a special and extreme case of a more general type of conflict' (i.e. racial degradation) involving the workers and peasants also. At another stage he seems to suggest that the *separate* objective interest of the bourgeoisie is the right to utilize their skills to the full, but here again he contradicts himself with suggestions that this is an interest of all working Africans.

> *Thus, '. . . Africans are for the most part equally dependent on the White man for employment and dwarfed by him in power, wealth and prestige. There is a ceiling on individual mobility under a common subordination and an emphasis on group identity. This creates a situation for Africans in which they may be more likely to achieve advancement as individuals through the group, so that African solidarity becomes a condition for personal progress.'*

All this is not to suggest that the situation of the so-called bourgeoisie is identical with other classes, or that it may not have its own exclusive objective interests. The point is that differences of situation and interests and the basis of such differences cannot be assumed on

theoretical grounds. These are questions of fact which need to be shown to exist.

In some respects Kuper's major point has been dealt with above. Here, too, Kuper assumes the truth of what he sets out to prove. What evidence is there that the African 'bourgeoisie' feels the pressure for social change more 'keenly' than say the working class, or Africans on the land? Kuper offers none. Furthermore, even if we assume that the African bourgeoisie has different objective class interests, what evidence is there to show that these interests have shaped the course of African political action through the power and prestige of the bourgeoisie among Africans generally? What evidence is there that it is the interests of the bourgeoisie rather than those of workers and peasants which is shaping African action and aspiration? Again Kuper sets out no evidence in proof of his argument, or to contradict the views of others that African class differences are irrelevant in the existing social structure of South Africa or that the working class shapes the struggle.

WHAT IS CLASS?

Kuper's conception of the African bourgeoisie is of a class *equivalent* to the class Marx was concerned with, the classical bourgeoisie, i.e. the owners of the means of production. Yet he is aware of certain vital differences between the two and at one point he says:

> '. . . *it may seem a verbal fantasy to describe as a bourgeoisie the African trader, professionals and clerks with whom this study deals.*'

Notwithstanding this he quite clearly equates these positions:

> '*The term bourgeoisie is thus chosen not only to describe the upper occupational categories in African society with certain tendencies to class formation but also to emphasize in terms of social change and prospective power their role at the apex of subordination.*'

But there is surely a basic difference between the two classes. The classical bourgeoisie's objective interest was to overthrow the feudal system in order to establish a system based on capitalist relations of production. In this sense the objective interests of the bourgeoisie and other classes were very different. But objectively there is no *necessary* contradiction between the African 'bourgeoisie' and other classes since the interests of the former do not appear to depend on

any particular system which is contrary to the interests of the African workers and peasants.

It is clear that the term 'bourgeoisie' is a misnomer and its use (together with an inappropriate comparison with other African states) has led Kuper to elevate occupational groups into a class. No doubt a more narrowly conceived study of the situation of intellectuals and their role in the political struggle would have been more productive.

However, if, because of its very weaknesses, 'An African Bourgeoisie' stimulates further studies on the issues raised it will have fulfilled a most important function.

A.M.

IN PRAISE OF NKRUMAH

ALTHOUGH IT MAY seem like a relief for these disgruntled elements in Ghana who claim to have seized power there, but let me ask the question: Can it be said that these hostile pseudo-leaders of Ghana who now claim to be the panacea of the freed people of Ghana are yet to put 'already good' things aright? Let me answer it. No and never, it can only be said that these imperialist cliques in Ghana are digging a grave in which to bury themselves. They should realize also that imperialism knows no compromise and that they are only setting the hand of the clock back, not only for the people of Ghana but also for all freedom fighters and progressive elements of Africa.

Every right thinking African, especially the African leaders, should now be able to realize more than before that neo-colonialism is nothing but imperialism in retreat. Dr. Nkrumah himself has said a number of times that 'neo-colonialism is now being applied to the vastly more numerous countries which have ceased to be colonies but are still tied by a thousand and one strands to the imperialist states economically'. Thus neo-colonialism is the imperialist bloc's answer to the deepening and penetrating force of socialism on the peoples of the whole world who are not prepared to go through all the experiences of capitalism before getting the good life.

Should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism would certainly doom itself to

destruction, for the peoples would no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices.

It has become a law that all imperialist powers concentrate their neo-colonialist efforts where the national struggle for liberation and the process of the imperialist colonial system's decay reach their high point. Currently this high point is in Africa. To examine these facts, right from the time Dr. Nkrumah showed the light of freedom for the peoples of Africa to follow in 1957, he begun to put his thought and ideas into real action. He has several times refuted imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in their various shades and forms. During recent years, as we all know, the imperialists have made a number of attempts to start a new war and test the strength of the socialist system in Africa. For the past five years or so several attempts on Osagyefo Dr. Nkrumah's life were made and on each occasion the neo-colonialists' nefarious plans proved abortive. Again, imperialism and its closest allies have repeatedly resorted to brutal force, have rattled the sabre. Although on each occasion the national liberation forces of Africa of which Dr. Nkrumah is one of the foremost champions, together with the efforts of other socialist countries, have checked the aggressors in good time.

Of particular and fundamental importance was one of such humanitarian and patriotic actions. Dr. Nkrumah undertook to find solution and to end the U.S. aggressive war against the democratic people of Vietnam, when some shallow minded soldiers backed by the imperialists cowardly took over control of Ghana.

Why did the take-over in Ghana happen, and why should it be at the time Dr. Nkrumah was out of the country? The answer is quite simple and plain. It happened because for some years past the neo-colonialists and their imperialist masters have attempted to assassinate Osagyefo more than five times and it was all a total failure for them. No sooner they discovered that Dr. Nkrumah was away for that great peace-mission, to Vietnam, China and Moscow, it was then and only then that they were able to score their shameful and an undefended goal.

In his book *Africa Must Unite* Dr. Nkrumah reminds us of the imperialists' adventurism in our continent and reiterates that, 'as the nationalist struggle deepens in the colonial territories and independence appears on the horizon, the imperialist powers, fishing in the muddy waters of communalism, tribalism and sectional interests, endeavour to create fissions in the national front, in order to achieve fragmentation'. Thus, the political situations in Africa today and that of Ghana in particular, should confront every serious African nationalist, and require

not only deep consideration but serious and decisive mass action as well.

Moreover, it is obvious that whether these questions are viewed and handled correctly or not has a close bearing on the success or failure of the O.A.U. cause and the destiny of humanity and Africans in general. Our political independence will be meaningless if we fail to adhere to the ideals of Nkrumaism. Finally, without the ideas of Nkrumaism Africa as a whole shall fall prey to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

B. M. ABASI,
Nigeria.

INDEPENDENCE FOR LESOTHO

THOUGH VERY FAR from being a Communist, I should like to congratulate you on your excellent editorial note on 'Independence for Lesotho'. The only fault is an unfortunate misprint on a crucial point. The B.N.P. government gained only 41.6 per cent of the votes cast in 1965, whilst the combined opposition (B.C.P. and M.F.P.) gained 56 per cent. (The remainder went to other candidates.) These figures are extremely important and underline the truths to which you draw attention in your commentary. In case any hasty reader has been misled, perhaps you would make the correction in your next issue.

IAN HAMNETT,
Edinburgh.

● Our reader is correct and we apologize for the misprint. The correct figures were:

Basutoland National Party (B.N.P.):	41.63% of votes—31 seats
Basutoland Congress Party (B.C.P.):	39.66% of votes—25 seats
Marematlou Freedom Party (M.F.P.):	16.49% of votes— 4 seats

Our article should thus have read:

'At the last elections the B.N.P. polled only 41.63% of the votes cast. The B.N.P. and M.F.P. polled 56.15% of the votes. Thus the B.N.P. owed its slender majority (two seats in a National Assembly of sixty) entirely to the split between the two patriotic parties, a tragic division which has now, perforce, been healed.'

NEGROES AND THE U.S.A. In our Number 24, we published two articles dealing with the position and struggles of the Negro people in

the United States of America, and promised to follow these differing views with an examination of the new programme of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., which was then in draft and was to be discussed at the recent party Congress. That Congress has been held, but the portions of the programme which we had wished to discuss in detail were not adopted, but were referred back to the National Committee for further debate. Under the circumstances, no good purpose seems served by an article on the subject. But we will certainly deal with the programme when it reaches its final and issued form.

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